

DISLOYALTY - INSURRECTION

DRAWER 18-

REACTIONARIES

71.2009.025.04058

Civil War Reactionaries

Disloyalty and Insurrection

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

Abolition "Disloyalty."

The opposition are so persevering in their efforts to fix the stigma of disunion sympathies on the Democracy that they must not complain of us for retaliating by endeavoring to place the yoke upon their own shoulders. It is a fact capable of unquestionable proof, that where one Northern Democrat has spoken a secession sentiment a hundred can be quoted from the speeches and writings of the Abolition leaders. What Democratic Congressman has ever uttered any words so well calculated to give the Southerners courage in their efforts for independence as the remarks of Mr. Conway, quoted by us last week? Where is the paper that has published so many things calculated to give them "aid and comfort," as the *New York Tribune*, the acknowledged organ of the party? Who does not remember how sneeringly it spoke of the value of the South, and with what unmistakable emphasis it was accustomed to say to it: "Go; we don't want you to stay; we regard you as a curse instead of a benefit; and, for our part, on the contrary from coaxing you to stay, we will do our best to help you separate?" The inconsistency of the radical leaders cannot better be exposed than by quoting a few extracts from this influential Abolition-disunion sheet, printed at the time of all

others when words of harmony and kindness, and high-toned patriotism should alone have been written. The doctrine of the *Tribune* was in substance that of at least half the present administration leaders. We furnish the dates, so that any having doubts of our veracity on the subject, may procure the files and read the original:

If the cotton States shall become satisfied that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. The right to secede may be a revolutionary one, but it exists nevertheless.

* * * We must ever resist the right of any State to remain in the Union and nullify or defy the laws thereof. To withdraw from the Union is quite another matter; and whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in. We hope never to live in a republic whereof one section is pinned to another by bayonets. —[*N. Y. Tribune*, Nov. 9, 1860.]

If it [the Declaration of Independence] justified the secession from the British empire of three million of colonists in 1776, we do not see why it would not justify the secession of five millions of Southerners from the Federal Union in 1861. If we are mistaken on this point, why does not some one show wherein and why? For our own part, while we deny the right of slaveholders to hold slaves against the will of the latter, we cannot see how twenty millions of people can rightfully hold ten, or even five, in a detested Union with them, by military force.—[*New York Tribune*, Dec. 17, 1860.]

If seven or eight contiguous States shall present themselves authentically at Washington, saying, "We hate the Federal Union; we have withdrawn from it; we give you the choice between acquiescing in our secession and arranging amicably all incidental questions, on the one hand, and attempting to subdue us, on the other"—we could not stand up for coercion, for subjugation, for we do not think it would be just. We hold the right of self-government, even when invoked in behalf of those who deny it to others. So much for the question of principle.—[*N. Y. Tribune*, Dec. 17, 1860.]

If ever "seven or eight States" send agents to Washington to say, "We want to get out of the Union," we shall feel constrained by our devotion to human liberty to say, Let them go! And we do not see how we could take the other side without coming in direct conflict with those rights of man which we hold paramount to all political arrangements, however convenient and advantageous.—[*N. Y. Tribune*, Dec. 17, 1860.]

Whenever a portion of this Union, large enough to form an independent, self-sustaining nation, shall see fit to say, authentically, to the residue, "We want to get away from you," we shall say—and we trust self-respect, if not regard for the principle, will constrain the residue of the American people to say—Go! We never yet had so poor an opinion of ourselves, or our neighbors, as to wish to hold others in a hated connection with us. But the dissolution of a government cannot be

Colonel Bowles.

"Colonel Bowles, of the 3d Indiana, during the Mexican war, was in the city yesterday. The old gentleman looks hale and hearty. He has been vilified by those who know nothing of what he did on the bloody field of Buena Vista, but, like a patriot and a soldier as he is, he has survived all calumnies. The Colonel will remain in the city a day or two, and his many friends will be happy to meet him."

The above puff of the "gallant" Col. Bowles is from the Indiana State Sentinel, of Tuesday. This is the same Col. Bowles who commanded the 3d Indiana Regiment at Buena Vista, and by his cowardice and incapacity brought disgrace upon the State. He was a pet of Jeff. Davis's at that time, and procured Davis to exculpate him from blame by laying it on the regiment. It was fondly hoped that he would never offend the public nostril by again obtruding himself into politics, or upon the public in any form; but in this the State has been disappointed. He has again turned up as an active, traveling, political agent, and engaged in the establishment of disloyal organizations. Every two or three weeks he has been found in this city in close conference with Democratic leaders, evidently exceedingly busy, and having a task to perform which was recognized and well understood by his friends here.— On Wednesday last he went as a representative from the Morgan Convention which assembled in this city the day before, to meet Vallandigham and the Grand Council at Hamilton.— From the above quotation it will be seen that the State organ of the party fully endorsed the patriotism and character of Colonel Bowles, and what that patriotism is may be better understood by reading a couple of letters which we herewith publish, from the Colonel to his wife, who was then in the South, from which it will be seen that the patriotic Colonel has been helping to fill up the ranks of his old friend Jeff. Davis by sending recruits from Indiana, and sorrowfully moans his inability to send more.— Yet this hypocritical, canting traitor went to Hamilton on Wednesday, in company with Dodd, Devlin and others, to lament over the persecutions which the Government has inflicted on his suffering compatriot, Vallandigham. The originals of these letters are in possession of General Carrington, where they can be seen and inspected by those who are curious in autographs. The question may be asked why this man has not been arrested and punished for his crime, which may be answered that he has been suffered to run at large for a purpose. His occupation being known, it was not hard to determine the occupation of those with whom he constantly mingled, and by whom he was employed. But to the letters.

FRENCH LICK, May 3, 1861.

ELIZA BOWLES: Yours of the 20th ult. is before me, and its very short contents noticed, and I am truly sorry to learn that you can give me no intelligence respecting that money. I am sent for and expect to start as soon as this letter is written to Paoli, where I will mail it, and where you hereafter will address my letters, as Lane has got the post office.

There is no hope of the recovery of John Dill, whom I am going to see. My own health is very bad, and worse to-day than common. Nothing going on but war, war. There is a company formed in Paoli of one hundred and fourteen men all armed and equipped for war. I think if things do not change here very soon, we will have fighting here in our midst. For already have many persons whom I suppose to be true to the South been silenced, and are now afraid to open their mouths in favor of Southern rights. I expect to get into a scrape to-day, as I intend to give my opinion freely, let what will follow. Ayer Charles and Dill and many others have come out for the North, and call all Tories and traitors who do not espouse the cause of the North. I have tried every way to prepare my business to leave here, but it seems to be impossible for me to get any one to take charge of my place. Albee is scared to death at every fighting report that comes, and God knows what I am to do if I leave and join the Southern army. My property will all be confiscated, and besides that, my health is such that I fear that I could render no service, but I have already sent some who will do service and I expect to send some more, and if I had or could get money plenty I would send many more. But as fast as I can get money I will keep fitting them out and sending them off. If things don't change for the better in a few days Eveline and Rachel Burt will leave for the South. They would have gone last Monday if they could have got an escort. I told them that it was better here, and run the risk, than go South among strangers without a protector.

Write soon and give me all the Southern news. Present my love to mother and all inquiring friends.

While I remain truly,

W. A. BOWLES.

FRENCH LICK, May 31, 1861.

ELIZA BOWLES:—A few lines was received from you from Paoli, day before I left for Louisville. The payment of the money has been acknowledged and will be paid in a few weeks by Mr. Gardener. I saw Mrs. Graves and Gill while at Louisville and they both reflected very much at you for infidelity, in not redeeming your promise by writing to them. I presume they are reminded that favors are soon forgotten. I saw Pass and she is improving quite fast, but no money paid by Coffey yet. Louisville is in a perfect tumult and everything is under great excitement and the Abolition party there is very strong, and I think the worst of consequences are in store for Kentucky under the policy of armed neutrality, which I think is a perfect humbug. Times here are assuming a desperate form and daily growing worse. It is reported that a battle has been fought at Fortress Monroe, in Virginia, and that 600 of the Abolitionists were killed and 50 on the Southern side, but I fear it is too good to be true.— I have tried three times to ship guns, beef and flour to mother, but failed each time. The boats are stopped on the Ohio, and they will let no provisions pass from Louisville to the South over the railroad, and unless I can smuggle it through I cannot get it down. It is all ready to ship at any moment. We have seven or eight boarders here now and a much better prospect of more than I expected a few weeks ago. The ladies are doing pretty well, but Albee is likely to turn out to be good for nothing but to spend money. He has been making twenty-five or thirty dollars per week for several weeks, and I think he has not saved a dollar. The question of your return home is one that deserves consideration. I am inclined to think that it will be impossible to make the trip, and if you could it is very questionable whether you would be safe if you was here, for I consider my life in peril every day, and the chances growing worse every day. When the fighting commences proper I think I shall go South. J. Cox will leave in a few days to join the Southern army. Then they will try to confiscate his property. Give my love to mother and all inquiring friends. Write at least once a week, and you might send me papers every week, while I remain

W. A. BOWLES.

FROM WASHINGTON.

B. Transcript — July 30, 1861
NEW APPOINTMENTS.

**The President and the Baltimore
Police Commissioners.**

Washington, 30th. Capt. Morris, of New York, has been ordered to the command of the new steamer Pensacola, which will be ready for the trial trip within two weeks.

Capt. Fox, chief clerk of the Navy Department, will be appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

Col. McClelland of Ill., a member of the House and a Douglas Democrat, is likely to be appointed a Brigadier-General.

The President declines to furnish the House the reasons for the arrest and imprisonment of the Police Commissioners of Baltimore, as it would be incompatible with the public interest.

The Congressional Canvass.

It will be seen by the card of Mr. Scott in another column, that Mr. Voorhees declines to make a joint canvass with him.

Mr. Voorhees first addresses him a written communication desiring to canvass the District, and when Mr. Scott accepts the proposition Mr. Voorhees backs down. It is evident that Mr. Voorhees fears the exhibition of his record to the people of the District. No sooner than he returned from Congress, than he commenced the canvass, and has been actively engaged ever since in his labors in this respect. He avoids meeting his competitor after making the proposition himself for joint discussions. He supposed Mr. Scott would decline to meet him, otherwise he would not have made it. But the moment accepted he suddenly finds it impossible to comply with his own proposition. No representative ever made a canvass, who resorted to more trickery and misrepresentation for success, than has Mr. Voorhees. He has favored each side of all the questions he has discussed. He is for the rebels half the time, and half the time for the Government. He opposes taxation and then favors it, he opposes the war, and then favors it and his speeches are all filled with inconsistencies—half loyal and half disloyal. By such means he hopes to secure his election.

If Mr. Voorhees' record was fair and capable of being defended no man would delight in a joint discussion more than himself, but Mr. Voorhees, knows his record is one of shame, and he desires to avoid joint discussions with his opponent, in order to keep it concealed from his supporters. His action in this matter is an evidence of his guilt and of his desire to win his election by misrepresentation and deceit. The voters of the District will repudiate his conduct and himself with it.

See Hanks Daily Express 9-17-62

The Tribune and the Administration.

The *Tribune*, speaking of the question whether the Secretary of State submits his dispatches for the President's approval, before they are sent, says: "We leave the *Times* to settle the question of veracity it has raised, or to get out of it as it best can by maintaining either one of its three propositions." This is cool—even for the *Tribune*. It increases our respect for that excellent journal. We were not aware that we had raised any "question of veracity"—or that any was pending. Will not the *Tribune* complete its information by making it more specific? What is the question thus raised? and who are the parties whose "veracity" is at issue?

Some days since the *Tribune* (under resistance but uncalled-for provocation from the *Times*, as it avers, and as we are willing to concede,) asserted that dispatches involving the assertion of vital principles in the conduct of the war, had been sent abroad by Mr. SEWARD without having been first submitted to the President for his approval. A correspondent of the *Tribune* at the same time asserted that the Secretary "attempted to act the President, and assumed to dictate and correspond, without his knowledge, in the name of the Government." In reply to these assertions we published the distinct averment of Mr. SEWARD himself, made with the concurrence of the President, that "every dispatch that was not merely and technically formal that I have ever sent abroad has been fully submitted, in words and substance, to

able public importance." For some months past there has been a systematic effort, on the part of certain persons, to drive Mr. SEWARD from the Cabinet. With the motives or the merits of this movement we have now nothing to do. We deal only with the means by which its achievement has been sought. Among those means has been a steady effort to create a public impression that Mr. SEWARD's relations with the President were not cordial,—that he was overbearing and dictatorial,—that he resisted the President's views and insisted upon his own—that he "acted the President," and assumed to commit him and his Administration to measures and policies, which, without such pressure, would have been discarded. Distinguished Senators have been conspicuous in this factious intrigue. Discontented and disappointed politicians have given it their countenance and support. The most absurd and preposterous fictions have been spread broadcast through the country, in order to create a public sentiment, which should serve as a basis and foundation for it. To a certain extent, these efforts were successful. A very wide and decided distrust of the Secretary of State was created in the public mind, though it does not seem to have reached the President. As against Mr. SEWARD, therefore, the movement has been harmless;—but it has unquestionably tended to weaken the Government by fostering a false and baseless impression that disunion and distrust pervade its councils.

The direct and emphatic refutation which has overtaken one of the main statements on which this whole fabric rested, may do something toward satisfying the public of its baseless and mischievous character. It has made it clear that, in assailing the Secretary of State, these distinguished patriots are actually assailing the President; and that the tendency of their efforts is thus to weaken and embarrass the Government which they profess to serve.

N. Y. Times

3/4/63

NY Times Jan 13, 1863
THE MILITARY AND THE CIVIL POWER.—We

publish elsewhere a letter from Hon. J. N. ARNOLD and a speech by Senator TRUMBULL, on the recent attempt to suppress the *Chicago Times* by military authority, in a State which has not yet been subjected to martial law. Both these gentlemen are well-known Republicans, and cannot, by any possibility, be suspected of the slightest sympathy with Secession, or with any of its aiders or abettors. They are both warm friends of the President and of his Administration, and cannot, therefore, be suspected of any wish to promote the progress and triumph of the Democratic party. Yet both condemn, in the most unequivocal terms, the attempt of Gen. BURNSIDE to substitute a file of soldiers for the ordinary process of law, and to make the property and liberty of individuals subject to the caprice of a military commander, rather than the requirements of the civil law.

There is always a tendency, in times of civil commotion, to follow the impulses of passion rather than the dictates of reason, and thousands of our loyal and patriotic fellow-citizens are yielding to that tendency at the present moment. There can be no doubt that a very large portion of the Democratic party are aiding and abetting the designs of the Secessionists. It seems very clear that they ought to be arrested and punished for so doing—and nine men out of ten are inclined to say that the shortest and quickest way of doing this is the best. But a very little common sense will teach any one that a just reform must be accomplished safely as well as quickly; and any person who knows anything of the character of our institutions, will readily see that such proceedings as the suppression of the *Chicago Times* by military force, will create far more formidable evils than they will correct. The man, whether he be a general or a civilian, who makes ten enemies in his rear for the sake of subduing one in front, knows very little of political strategy, and will do far more hurt than good in any field which may be committed to his control.

President LINCOLN's revocation of Gen. BURNSIDE's order was a just and timely act. It is greatly to be regretted that any occasion for it should have arisen, and we trust that there will be no necessity for its repetition.

as the supreme law of the land? [Cries of, "We don't want any more of that." "What's that band for?" "Well, hear me through, for I will not be long, and the questions before you are of so much importance and gravity that you should listen patiently, and not only that, decide dispassionately.

The Constitution is broad. It grants all powers necessary, even for the suppression of treason in the North. [Applause.] Yes, gentlemen, it is just as legal and binding upon the General in the field, and the civil officers of the nation, as it is upon the humblest citizen in the land. Has it come to this, that you will deny in the free city of Chicago the right of a citizen to discuss the acts of the President? [Cries of "We won't allow it," and "None but Copperheads do that, and we will stop them."] Is there a man in this audience who has not expressed to-day his dissatisfaction with some act of the President? [Cries of "Yes," "Yes," "We have none of us expressed any dissatisfaction."] Ah, do all of you, then, think the President's revocation of Gen. Burnside's order, suppressing the Chicago, *Times*, was right? [Cries of "No!" "No!" "It was wrong!" "He ought to have enforced the order!"] Then you all deserve to be taken in hand by the military power and sent beyond the lines.

You will be much stronger with the law on your side. Show that Mr. Storky has counseled resistance to the draft or encouraged desertion; these are penitentiary offences. Then arrest him and take him before the courts. Where would you get your mob to rescue? Why there would not be a corporal's guard in the city that would go into it. Try him in the courts. [A voice—"No, this would take too much time; it would take two years."] Too much time! Cannot you wait for the execution of the law? It would not take two months. Do you know what the laws are? I will read some of them.

He then read from a law of the late Congress forbidding correspondence with the rebels and affording them aid and comfort. [A single voice on the stand—"That's just what WILBUR F. STORKY does every day."] Then go, he said—you are a citizen—and make complaint to the Grand Jury yourself. It is your duty.

41 4 June

6/13/63

too keep ours a united people by the force of steel.

A State forced to obedience at the point of the bayonet, I regard as much and more a subversion of the Government than secession itself, hence I see nothing but dissolution, and humanity, justice and common sense, to my mind, dictates a peaceable separation.

God Bless you, Daniel,
Your friend,

[Signed.] Jos. RISTINE.

Ristine was Auditor of State during the years 1863-4, and is a leading Copperhead and ex-Son of Liberty.

JGSEPHE McDONALD TO DAN. VOORHEES.

HALLUCINATIONS AND INSANITY OF JUDGE PERKINS.

INDIANAPOLIS, November 14, 1863.

Hon. D. W. Voorhees:

Dear Friend: Your favor per Brown I received.

I did all that could be done for the boy, and that was to have him sent back to his company without being regarded as a deserter, until the President shall modify his proclamation suspending the writ of habeas corpus. If a woman should be sworn into the service, there is no power on earth to discharge her but the War Department, and that never acts in any case where humanity makes the call.

As to Perkins, you will have have learned from our mutual friend Dowling, that we have had an interview with the Judge, and found him enjoying a lucid interval, and fully aware of the hallucination under which he has lately been laboring, but I don't see just how he can right himself. I think he will be permanently cured of his insanity in time, but it may take time.

Of course it is not necessary for me to say to you that I knew no more of the sentiments of his letter until I saw it in the public papers than you did. If he had sent his letter to me, and not the editor of the Sentinel, it would not have seen the light of day in that shape; but he seemed to think he had discovered the Northwest passage, and wanted the whole benefit of the discovery; and consequently he had to give this thing to the public at once.

When I see you we will talk at length on these matters, as I want a long talk with you before you go to Washington.

Respectfully your friend,

J. E. McDONALD.

McDonald and Perkins are both Copperhead candidates for the United States Senate. The latter is the editor of the Herald the Copperhead organ of Indiana.

JUDGE PERKINS FOR TWO REPUBLICS.

In a speech delivered before the Sons of Liberty Club, Judge Perkins asserted that "the liberty of the citizen is gone;" that we had failed to restore the Union; that he would bring back the South by peaceful measures; and

"If her return can not be effected by such instrumentalities; if to bring back the South the liberties of all must be overthrown, and a general tyranny established; if we can not have 'Union and Liberty, one and inseparable, now and forever,' if the alternative is presented to me, and I am compelled to elect between two republics and one despotism, I am for two republics.

I think there is a reaction taking place in Indiana in reference to the war, and Mr. Lincoln's message and Chase's Report will aid it.

Let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

What is Morton doing in Washington?

Yours truly,

J. J. BINGHAM.

Bingham is one of the editors of the Indianapolis Herald, and a Son of Liberty.

JOSEPH RISTINE TO DAN. VOORHEES.

THE DEMOCRACY OF THE NORTH PLAYED OUT UNLESS THE SOUTH SUCCEED.

COVINGTON, June 20, 1861.

Dear Daniel:

You are soon to assume a position fraught with untold responsibility. The more I look at the movements of this Administration the more I become satisfied that the Government, under the form it has hitherto existed, is of the things that were. The movements at Baltimore and St. Louis, on the part of the military, satisfy me that an attempt will be made to place the whole country under military rule; that all the means of the Government will be employed to arm the minions of the Administration, and to disarm all opponents; that an absolute reign of terror will be inaugurated, and when the means of resistance of the masses are removed, a military despotism will rule until all State rights under the constitutional organizations shall have been abolished, and a monarchy, absolute or limited, established.

The successful resistance of the South I regard as the only safety for us of the North. Should she be overwhelmed, woe betide us who have dared to oppose the policy of this Administration.

I would like to see all Democrats unite in an open and bold resistance to all attempts

Indiana's Daily Journal

INDIANAPOLIS DAILY JOURNAL,

PUBLISHED BY

DOUGLASS & CONNER.

INDIANAPOLIS, FRIDAY, AUGUST 3.

THE DISLOYALTY OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERS. 241

J. HARDESTY, OF HARRISONBURG,
VIRGINIA, TO HIS NEPHEW,
DANIEL W. VOORHEES.

100,000 MEN TO HELP THE SOUTH.

HARRISONBURG, February 17, 1862.

My Dear Nephew:

We want you to hold that 100,000 men in readiness, as we do not know how soon we may want them.

[Signed] J. HARDESTY.

Addressed on envelope:

HON. DANIEL W. VOORHEES,
Terre Haute, Indiana.

SENATOR WALL, OF NEW JERSEY,
TO DAN. VOORHEES.

ARMS FOR VOORHEES'S ARMY OF 100,000 MEN.

LONG BRANCH, August 21, 1863.

My Dear Sir:—I enclose you two letters from a man by the name of Carr, in reference to arms. A letter addressed to him simply Philadelphia will reach him. I can vouch for the excellent quality and great efficiency of the rifles.

Yours in haste, JAMES W. WALL.

Envelope addressed:

[Free.]

JAMES W. WALL, U. S. S.

HON. DANIEL W. VOORHEES,

Terre Haute, Indiana.

Post-mark:

Long Branch, N. J., Aug. 22.

E. W. CARR TO JAMES W. WALL.

PHILADELPHIA, August 14, 1863.

Hon. James W. Wall:

Dear Sir: Your letter, with one enclosed about rifles, has been received. If the parties wish to buy them, the best way would be for them to have some one appointed to purchase them, and confer with you and me.

I am satisfied this is the very article they want, and as you know all about them you can speak "by the card." You have seen the article tried, and no doubt are well satisfied that it will speak loudly in a good cause.

We will sell them in bond for \$14, and I have no doubt if the proper course be pursued the duty can be remitted.

The rifles are better and cheaper than any thing ever offered in this country, or made here, and as good as any ever imported. We challenge a comparison with any rifle execution whatever.

There are about twenty thousand rifles, and we desire to sell them at once. They are a great bargain, and are worth to-day more in Europe than we offer to sell them for here.

The price of fire-arms will advance within a year at least thirty-three per cent., as arms are in demand all over Europe. As you know, there is no more effective arm in the world than this.

I am with great respect,

Yours truly,

[Signed.]

E. W. CARR,

Wall now says, in a letter, that "a gentleman wanted these arms to arm the militia in Indian under a new law." But the law putting Ristine, Hord, Athon and Brett (the first three admitted members of the Sons of Liberty), in the place of the Governor, disbanding the Legion and inaugurating a partisan militia, did not pass! Who then did Voorhees want the 20,000 stand of arms for, if not for the secret Order?

J. J. BINGHAM TO DAN. VOORHEES.

HAVE THE SOUTH RESOURCES ENOUGH TO
KEEP THE UNION TROOPS AT BAY?

INDIANAPOLIS, July 11, 1861.

My Dear Voorhees:

I should like your private opinion as to the prospects of affairs, so that I may have some basis to go upon. Do you think the South have resources enough to keep the Union forces at bay, and finally force a recognition of their independence, or will Lincoln's army crush them out? You must have sources of information which I have not, to enable you to form some opinion upon these matters.

* * * * *

Negro Equality.

The leaders of the administration party are committing themselves more and more every day to the doctrine of negro equality and all it includes. We quoted recently the puff on the abolitionist Garrison in the *Philadelphia Press*, but the following report of remarks made by leading Republican Generals is still more significant. It occurred at a dinner commemorating the victory of Pea Ridge. We quote from a report in the *St. Louis Democrat*:

General McNeil responded, and in the course of his remarks said that hereafter the *elective franchise* should be extended to all who fight for the country, without regard to nationality or color. [Generals Gray and Rosecrans, "That's right; that's right."]

General Rosecrans said he fully concurred in what had been said about black soldiers. General McNeil has told you that every black man who fought for the country should have a vote; so do I, so do I, &c., &c.

Here are three generals, in responsible positions in the Union army, who openly avow their intention of giving the blacks precisely the same political privileges as the whites. Social equality, including, of course, miscegenation, comes next in order.

A "Loyal" Favorite.

George Thompson, the notorious English Abolitionist, said in a late speech in Boston, in alluding to his visit to this country, some years ago:

"I was a disturber of the public peace; I was an enemy to the Union; I was thought worthy to be denounced by your President in an address to Congress; I am unchanged."

This is the man to whom the Federal House of Representatives, recently paid the compliment of voting the use of its Hall for him to lecture in; and whose address on the occasion was listened to with apparent gratification by the President and Cabinet, the Administrationists in Congress, and nearly all the shoddy aristocracy of Washington city. The person who was denounced by Henry Clay, Daniel Webster and Stephen A. Douglas as an enemy to the nation, unfit to receive anything but the scorn of Americans, is now entertained with distinguished honors by the Administration leaders in every part of the country!

Evil Pa Observer Day 1864

THE SONS OF LIBERTY, No. 1.—Every one knows how great an influence was exercised by the "Knights of the Golden Circle" in preparing and organizing the Southern rebellion. The efficacy of secret orders, bound to implicit obedience and working in darkness, was thus established, and those who found in them a means of accomplishing their ends and gratifying their ambition, were not disposed to abandon so powerful an instrument. The "Golden Circle" had many lodges throughout the North and the loyal Border States. These continued in existence, but their active sympathy with rebellion gradually attracted attention, and rendered them dangerous to their members. To divert suspicion, various changes were adopted in the nomenclature and ritual of the Order. Stirling Price, who was at its head in Missouri, reorganized it in that State as the "Corps de Belgique," a name selected apparently in honor of Charles L. Hunt, Belgian Consul at St. Louis. His principal assistant, whose treasonable display had resulted in his arrest and con-

demnation, was adopted throughout the Free States. About a year since the Order was reorganized on a wider scale under the title of the "Order of American Knights," by a knot of Southern sympathizers, the principal of whom were Clement L. Vallandigham and Peter C. Wright. The latter was editor of the New York Daily News, and was the first Supreme Commander of the Order. In May last he was arrested and imprisoned in Fort Lafayette. The developments at St. Louis concerning the Order, about that time, and the consequent arrests, alarmed the leaders, who made a further change in the hope of concealment. It was reorganized as the "Order of the Sons of Liberty," some changes were made in the signs and ritual, and Vallandigham, who had been elected Supreme Commander, February 23d, 1864, retained the Supreme Commandership.

Corresponding changes were made in the Southern branch of the Order. The "Golden Circle" and the "Corps de Belgique" were merged, first into the "American Knights" and then into the "Sons of Liberty." Stirling Price is Supreme Commander in the South, as Vallandigham is in the North, and correspondence is regularly maintained between them.

THE OBJECTS OF THE "SONS OF LIBERTY."—Among the captured correspondence of Jefferson Davis, there was found a letter from Franklin Pierce, who, under date of January 7th, 1860, assured his "dear friend" that in the event of a war between the North and South, the Abolitionists would "find occupation enough at home," for "the fighting will not be along Mason and Dixon's line alone. It will be within our own borders, in our own streets, between the two classes of citizens (Republicans and Democrats) to whom I have referred." When this letter came to light, we forgave the villainousness of the prophecy on account of its apparent facility. Ex-President Pierce knew more than we did. He knew the existence of a deep feeling of sympathy with the South, and though he exaggerated its boldness, he only did justice to its malignity. The proof of this is to be found in the objects professed by the "O. S. L.," or, "Order of the Sons of Liberty."

The printed ritual of that Order, and of its predecessor, the "O. A. K.," or "Order of American Knights," are nearly identical. Several hundred copies of them were discovered in the office of the Hon. Daniel S. Voorhees, at Terre Haute, Ind., together with a mass of correspondence relative to those Orders. Other copies were found secreted in mattresses in the house of Dr. Kallus, of Louisville, and in the building occupied by H. H. Dodd, the Grand Commander of the Order in Indiana.

The ritual commences with a "Declaration of Principles." These principles consist of two—the advocacy of slavery as a necessity in the order of nature, and the assertion of the right of secession by the States of the Union. The former is only interesting as showing the animus of the Order; the latter is the practical doctrine, to the vindication of which the energies of the affiliated are to be directed, as will be seen by the following extract from the ritual of the First Degree.

"(6.) The Government designated the 'United States of America' has no sovereignty because that is an attribute with which the people, in their several and distinct political organizations, are endowed, and is alienable. . . . (7.) In accordance with the principles upon which is founded the American theory, Government can exercise only delegated power; hence, if those who shall have been chosen to administer the Government shall assume to exercise powers not delegated, they should be regarded and treated as usurpers. (8.) The references to 'inherent power,' 'war power,' or 'military necessity' on the part of the functionary for the sanction of an arbitrary exercise of power by him, we will not accept in palliation or excuse. . . . (11.) It is incompatible with the history and nature of our system of Government that Federal authority should 'coerce by arms a sovereign State.'"

These premises being granted, the chiefs of the Order become the sole and irresponsible judges of what shall be regarded as an arbitrary exercise of prerogative by the Government, and when they have so decided, the sworn obedience of the Order compels all members to rise in armed hostility at their bidding. The motto of the Order, introduced by Vallandigham, is "RESISTANCE TO TYRANTS IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD," and what is the practical purport of this will be seen by the obligation assumed by all who enter the Order. Their ritual declares that:

"Whenever the chosen officers or delegates shall fail or refuse to administer the Government in strict accordance with the letter of the accepted Constitution, it is the inherent right and the solemn and imperative duty of the people to resist the functionaries, and if need be, to expel them by force of arms." Such resistance is not revolution, but is solely the exertion of right.

And in the oath or obligation assumed by the neophyte on taking the first degree, there occurs the following:

"I do further promise that I will at all times, if needs be, take up arms in the cause of the oppressed—not my country first of all—against any monarch, prince, power or government, which may be found in arms against people or peoples who are endeavoring to establish or have inaugurated a government for themselves, of their free choice, in accordance with or founded on the eternal principles of truth, which I have first sworn on the Vestibule, and now in this presence do swear to maintain inviolate and defend with my life; this I do promise without reservation or evasion of mind, without regard to the name, state, condition or designation of the tyrarding or coercing power, whether it shall arise from within or without. All this I do solemnly promise and swear sacredly to observe, perform and keep, with a full knowledge and understanding, and with my full assent that the penalty which will follow a violation of any or either of these most solemn vows shall be a sudden and shameful death, while my name shall be consigned to infamy, while this schismatic Order shall survive the wreck of time, and even until the last faithful brother shall have passed from earth to his service in the temple not made with hands."

Not only was the unfaithful member thus threatened with a "shameful death," and that his body should be divided into four parts and cast out at the four gates of the temple, but he was further taught that this oath of fidelity to the Order was superior to any other oaths which he might take. The oath of allegiance to the United States was trivial in comparison. In an examination under oath, he was to renounce himself rather than reveal any of the secrets of the Order, as was fully shown by the trial and subsequent confessions of Hunt, Dunn and Smith, chiefs of the Order in Missouri.

Such being the objects and theory of the Order, it is easy to understand the current belief among the members that Jefferson Davis, belonging to it, and that the programme of its action had been settled between him and Vallandigham, during the latter's residence in Richmond.

PLANS OF THE ORDER.—As the object of the "O. S. L." was to assist the rebellion and to resist its "coercion" by the Government in every possible manner, no labor for that purpose has been too mean or too great for its efforts. It would take too much space to recount all that has been developed in the various trials which have taken place. Information of contemplated movements conveyed to rebel generals, instructions as to the points where rains could be safely made; co-operation with guerrillas throughout Kentucky and Missouri; conveyance of military stores, ammunition, percussion caps and medicines through the line; raising recruits for the rebel armies, thousands of whom have been collected and forwarded from Louisville and St. Louis; encouragement of desertions from the national forces, harboring and protecting deserters, assisting them to escape and resisting their arrest; discouragement of enlistments—any member who volunteers is thereupon expelled;—resistance to enrollment and draft; murdering enrollment officers, provost marshals, and others in the United States service; running trains of Union troops off the track; destruction of government property, arsenals, stores, steamers, &c., &c., all these are the tasks which have been allotted to the lower degrees of the Order, as have been proved in the numerous trials which have taken place; and the history of the war in the West, where the Order principally flourishes, shows how great has been its industry and success.

Wicked as all this is, it is, however, of comparatively minor importance. The fourth and fifth degrees, the Grand Council of each State, and the Supreme Council with Vallandigham at its head, have long revolved projects of infinitely greater magnitude. Their object has been to bring the war to an end by dismembering the North, Missouri and Kentucky were to be thrown irrevocably into the hands of the rebels. A revolt in the Northwest was to paralyze the Government; a Northwestern Con-

federacy was to be framed, which, in alliance or fused with the South, was to dictate terms of settlement to the remaining States.

This audacious plan may seem incredible, but it rests on apparently irrefragable testimony. High dignitaries of the Order have been arrested, and their confessions accord with the papers which have been seized, and these correspond with the preparations which have been made in the various lodges or temples throughout the West.

The key-note of all this is to be found in the address to the Order, issued by H. H. Dodd, grand commander of Indiana, last February, in which he quotes the views of the supreme commander, Vallandigham:

"He (Vallandigham) judges that the Washington power will not yield up its power until it is taken from them by an indignant people by force of arms. NOW THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE UNION WAS TO BE ACCOMPLISHED."

At Dodd's trial, at Indianapolis, September 27th and 30th, Felix G. Stidger, grand secretary of the Order in Kentucky, testified that the rebels under Price were expected to invade Missouri with 20,000 men, while Buckner or Breckinridge should enter Kentucky with such forces as they could bring. The Order in Indiana, Ohio and Illinois was to rise. The Government arsenals and stores were to be seized, the prisoners at Johnson's Island, Camp Douglas, Rock Island, &c., were to be liberated and armed with the weapons from the arsenals. Large bodies of men were thus to be thrown into Missouri and Kentucky, the mass of whose inhabitants, led by the Order in those States, were expected to join them, and the authority of the Government throughout the West and the Northwest was to be destroyed. Seven regiments of Forrest's men had been disbanded during his raid into Western Kentucky last spring, and left there to co-operate. Captain Hines, of Morgan's staff, who had been captured with Morgan and escaped with him, was on Vallandigham's staff, who had detailed him to superintend the liberation of the Johnson's Island prisoners. A Dr. Bowles, Major-General of the Order in Indiana, was entrusted by Vallandigham with a similar duty at Rock Island.

The time originally fixed for the enterprise was June 15th or 17th. The co-operation of the rebel armies was however wanting, and it was postponed. The middle of August was then designated. From other sources it appears that Dodd and J. C. Walker met the pseudo rebel Commissioners at Niagara, and arranged the details. The Democratic State Central Committee of Indiana, however, condemned the scheme as madness at that time. The aspects of the war, too, just then were not reassuring. Sherman was at the gates of Atlanta; Grant was thundering at Petersburg, and Early's raid on Washington had come to naught. Another postponement was agreed on. A few days afterward information was obtained which led to the seizure of large amounts of arms and ammunition prepared for the operation; the leading spirit in Indiana, H. H. Dodd, was arrested, and the whole scheme made public. Thus when Price, in fulfillment of his part of the plan, invaded Missouri, in September, the promised aid was wanting. [To be continued.]

Startling as this may seem, it is not mere assertion. The fact was testified to by one of the emissaries employed, and the route habitually adopted by the messengers was detailed at length.

From the testimony of William Clayton, who took the first degree of the O. A. K., in July, 1863, and rose to the third degree of that and its successor, the O. S. L. The same oath is contained in the ritual of the latter, as quoted by Judge Holt in his report.

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THE SONS OF LIBERTY, No. 2.—ORGANIZATION AND STRENGTH OF THE ORDER.—These plots may seem the creation of distempered brains, and utterly beyond the reach of such a body as the "O. S. L." to accomplish. The conspirators, it is true, are crazed in their reckless hate of the Government and frenzied lust of power, but yet they have shown method in their madness, and their means are well calculated the means adapted to their ends.

The organization of the Order is military throughout. The members of each "Temple" form a company; those of each county a regiment, whose chief officer is called its colonel; each congressional district constitutes a brigade, under command of a brigadier general; while in each military district these are consolidated under the control of a major general. By the secret constitution of the Order, (sect. 8), the grand commander of each State "shall be commander-in-chief of the military forces of their respective States," while the supreme commander "shall be commander-in-chief of all military forces belonging to the Order in the various States, when called into actual service." From the acolyte in the vestibule to the supreme council with its chief, Vallandigham, every man is sworn to wolf and implicit obedience to the orders of his superior. The two active duties most constantly enjoined upon members are the procuring of arms and the practice of drill. The members of every temple are regularly drilled, and the most strenuous exertions have been made to procure a full supply of arms. Clayton, a member of the third degree, testified that about two-thirds of the members were armed, and it was in evidence that in March last the Order in Indiana possessed 8,000 muskets and 60,000 revolvers, besides private arms. General Carrington estimates that in February and March last nearly 20,000 guns and revolvers were brought by it into Indiana, and after the orders of last March, prohibiting the introduction of arms into the Department of the North, the Government made a seizure of a large quantity of revolvers and 150,000 rounds of ammunition consigned to Dodd, the grand commander. As long ago as August, 1863, a correspondence took place between Senator Wall, of New Jersey, and the Hon. Mr. Voorhies, of Indiana, respecting 20,000 rifles which E. W. Carr, of Philadelphia, had for sale. Mr. Wall vouched for the excellence of the weapons, and the object of the negotiation is inexplicable, unless they were wanted for the purposes of the Order. Arrangements were made with the rebel authorities by which arms were shipped from Nassau, through Canada, on the payment of costs of transportation by the Order, and no stone was left unturned to elude the vigilance of the Government, in the effort to supply all the members with the means of offence and defence.

It is not easy to ascertain the exact number of the drilled, disciplined and well equipped army which was thus set on foot. At the meeting of the grand council held in February last, it was represented to amount to 600,000 or 1,000,000 men, but this is manifestly an exaggeration. Vallandigham, in his Dayton speech of last summer, asserted it to be 500,000. In March last, the entire armed force of the Order, capable of mobilization for active service, was stated at 340,000. Estimates of its strength in the various States differ as greatly, even by the officers high in degree. Thus the Order in Illinois is stated to comprise from 100,000 to 160,000 members; in Indiana, from 75,000 to 125,000; in Missouri, from 50,000 to 40,000; in Kentucky, from 40,000 to 70,000; in Ohio, from 30,000 to 108,000; in Michigan and New York, about 20,000 each.

Even at the lowest of these figures, and allowing for the exaggerations adopted to magnify its power and impose upon the ignorant and credulous, it will be seen that the Order is not a mere bugbear, and that the audacious plans of its leaders were not devoid of a reasonable prospect of success. Had they succeeded in evading the vigilance of the Government, which for months was watching their every move, had the promised co-operation of the rebels been afforded, and had they succeeded in liberating the prisoners in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, it is fearful to think of the anarchy which they might have wrought. Our armies in the field would probably have been destroyed, and our Government rent into fragments.

That all this was contemplated by the conspirators, does not rest simply upon the testimony of the witnesses for the prosecution, direct and convincing as that was, and which no man could cross-examine. The flight of Dodd during his trial in violation of his parole, is a full confession of guilt.

EXTENT AND AFFILIATIONS OF THE ORDER.

It has been seen that the "O. S. L." exists throughout the South but this is a matter of little importance, except in so far as it supplies the rebels with spies and messengers who are sure of protection and assistance as soon as they reach our lines. Its ramifications throughout the North are of much higher interest.

Besides the States mentioned above, lodges are officially reported to exist in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland. Other organizations, also, of a kindred nature, are affiliated with it. The disturbances in the coal region of Pennsylvania originated in a similar Order, claiming relationship through their parent company, the "Knights of the Golden Circle." In New York, the body known as the "McClellan Minute Guard" is also a branch. Dr. R. F. Stevens, the Chief Secretary of the "Guard" is the most active representative of the "O. S. L." It is organized upon a military basis like the parent Order, and is under the command of "brigadier generals" and a "commander-in-chief," while the members are subject to rigid obedience to their officers. As Dr. Stevens stated to a witness whose evidence is furnished—"those who represent the McClellan interest are compelled to preach a vigorous prosecution of the war, in order to secure the popular sentiment and all the voters."

This deception exists on all sides. The Order never could have attained its present proportions had its objects been known to those who sought its membership. Democrats whose feelings were opposed to the war, or who regarded the craft with aversion, were invited to join a Democratic political organization. Once in they could not escape. Bound by the fearful oath of initiation, threatened with the awful penalties, to be visited on unfaithful members, and reduced to implicit obedience to their superiors, they became the helpless tools of the designing men who controlled the Order, and thus a power of formidable proportions was con-

velled in less crude and brutal words. The pretext for the address was the suspension of a newspaper in Baltimore, and the adoption of a test oath by a Convention in Tennessee, and after endeavoring to inflame the people against the tyrannical administration, the Committee conclude with the scarcely covert threat—

"They believe that the American people, armed with the majestic authority of the Constitution and the laws, will meet these beginnings of usurpation in the spirit and with the determination of their fathers, nor suffer Executive ambition so far to corrupt the constitution, nor resist the Executive wrong doing as to condemn this great and brave people in the immediate future to the condition of the remedies of the subject populations of the olden world."

Frightened as the writer evidently was with the idea which he has clothed with this mass of verbiage, still the idea is as plainly to be seen there as in the bolder phrase of the other organ. "If we cannot change the Administration by votes, we will do it with bayonets"—or, to use the watchword so significantly repeated at every Democratic meeting and procession, "A free election or a free fight."

Thus the cancer in prospect for us in November is more real than that through which we unconsciously passed in August. That was crude, ill-digested, and lacked the support which was a condition precedent to success. This is more dexterously prepared, covers a wider scope, and is managed by far abler men than the Dods, the Bowles, the Pipers, who fraternized with guerrillas and burned government steamboats. It is a mass to raise a whole population in revolt, from the Atlantic to the border of Kansas, and though the attempt would surely be quenched in the blood of the anarchists who wrought the evil, yet it would inflict a blow upon our cause from which it could not recover, and would plunge us into suffering such as we now can but faintly conceive.

The prevention lies in our own hands. An election in which Mr. Lincoln has a slender majority either in the electoral college or on the popular vote will invite the execution of these infernal schemes. An election by a decisive majority, in which the great popular voice shall speak in thunder tones to disorganizers and rebels, North and South, will confound their plans, and their contrivers will shrink in terror from the manifestation of the mighty popular wrath. Even as Jefferson Davis will cower before that storm in his last ditch at Richmond, so will Vallandigham again seek refuge in the congenial regions of Canada, and August Belmont, in the luxurious recesses of his palace, will turn to schemes more profitable than engineering a popular revolution to upset the government of his adopted country.

* The identity of policy and action is curiously shown in the fact that the recommendation by the Convention of a "cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of all the States," is borrowed almost literally from a series of resolutions adopted by the Grand Council of the Order in Indiana, at a meeting held at Indianapolis, February 16th, 1864. The fifth resolution reads:

"5 That whatever the theory of the powers of the Federal Government to coerce a State to remain in the Union may be, was as a means of restoring the Union is a delusion, involving a fearful waste of human life, homeless bankruptcy, and the speedy downfall of the Republic. Therefore we recommend a cessation of hostilities upon existing facts, and a convention of the sovereign States to adjust the terms of a peace with a view to the restoration of the Union, entire if possible; if not, so much and such parts as the affinities of interests and civilization may attract."

The proceedings of this meeting were found in the safe of Dodd, the Grand Commander of Indiana.

GENERAL SCOTT wrote the following prophetic letter at its date; before Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated or the commencement of hostilities:

WASHINGTON, March 30, 1861. Dear Sir:—Hoping that in a day or two the new President will have happily passed through all personal dangers and had himself installed an honored successor of the great Washington, with you as the chief of his Cabinet I beg leave to repeat in writing all that I have before said orally, this supplement to my printed views, dated in October last, on the highly disordered condition of our late glorious and happy Union.

To meet the extraordinary exigencies of the times, it seems to me that I am guilty of an arrogance in limiting the President's field of selection to one of the four plans of procedure I sketched:

1st. Throw off the old and assume a new designation—the Union party. Adopt the conciliatory measures proposed by Mr. Crittenden in the Peace Convention, and my life upon it, we shall have no new cause of secession, but on the contrary an early return of many, if not all, of the States that have already broken off the Union. Without some equally benign measure, the remaining slaveholding States will probably join the Montgomery Confederacy in less than sixty days, when this city being included in a foreign country, would require a permanent garrison of at least 35,000 troops to protect and defend it.

2d. Collect the duties on foreign goods outside the ports of which the Government has lost the command, or lose such ports by act of Congress, and blockade them.

3d. Conquer the seceding States by invading armies. No doubt this can be done in two or three years by a young and able general, a Wolff, a Dessaix, or a Heche, with 300,000 disciplined men, including a third for garrisons, and the loss of a yet greater number by skirmishes, sieges, battles and Southern fevers.

The destruction of life and property on the other side would be frightful, however perfect the moral discipline of the invaders. Their conquest would be completed at the enormous waste of human life. The North and Northwest would lose at least \$20,000,000 worth of property; and all this for what good? Fifteen devastated provinces, not to be brought into harmony with their conquerors, but to be held for generations by heavy garrisons at an expense quadruple the net duties or taxes which it would be possible to extort from them, followed by a protector or an emperor.

4th. Say to the seceded States: Wayward sisters, depart in peace. WINFIELD SCOTT, Hon. Wm. H. Seward, &c. &c.

ningly built up.

CONNECTION OF THE ORDER WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The danger of the great North-western Conspiracy, as detailed last summer, is over. It never was great, for the vigilance of the Government anticipated every movement of the conspirators, and the

* Dodd is a bookbinder, and occupies part of the building of the great North-western Conspiracy. The boxes of arms and ammunition were found concealed in the press room and water room. In the act of loading under which they were clipped in New York, they were described as "a slattery." The means to inaugurate the threatened revolution were provided by the prudent care of Governor Wickliffe's revolution. The warring hopes of the Party show that those means will probably have to be employed for that purpose, and a ready way to see evidence that the Order and the Party are preparing for it, and are endeavoring to train the popular mind in that direction.

The official organ of the Order is the New York Daily News, whose late editor was Vallandigham's predecessor in the Supreme Commandership. The News of October 10th has the following exhortation, the purport of which will scarcely be misinterpreted by the reader who knows its connection with the Order, and who recollects the motto selected for the Order by Mr. Vallandigham:

"The sun is not more certain to rise to-morrow than that the President of these United States for the next four years will be Abraham Lincoln! ... The last refuge and hope of law, order and Constitutional Government trampled under foot, it becomes the bounden duty of every man among us who would be free, to look, like our Revolutionary fathers, to the remedy of his own right hand; and, standing on his constitutional rights, to declare, in the face of battle or banishment, or still better, in the very front of hurdling battle, that 'RESISTANCE TO TYRANTS IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD.'"

As if to show their entire unity of purpose, on the very day on which the organ of the Order uttered these significant threats, the Democratic National Committee, the organ of the party, put forth an address, in which the same incendiary design was

THE TREASON TRIAL

OFFICIAL REPORT

OF THE

Trial of William A. Bowles, Andrew Humphreys, Horace Heffron, Lambdin P. Milligan, and Stephen Horsey.

[CONTINUED.]

COURT ROOM, INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,
October 28, 1864, 9 o'clock A. M.

The Commission met pursuant to adjournment.

The same members present as yesterday, also the Judge Advocate, the accused, and their counsel.

The proceedings of yesterday were read and approved.

J. J. Bingham, a witness for the Government, was then introduced, and being duly sworn by the Judge Advocate, testified as follows:

Question by the Judge Advocate:
State your name, place of residence, and business.

Answer. Joseph J. Bingham; I reside in the city of Indianapolis, and am editor of the Daily and Weekly Indiana State Sentinel.

Q. How long have you resided in Indianapolis?

A. Since August, 1856.

Q. Where did you reside previous to that?

A. At Lafayette, in this State.

Q. How long have you published the Indiana State Sentinel?

A. Since the 26th of August, 1856.

Q. Did you ever join an order called the American Knights or Sons of Liberty?

A. I joined an order which was called the American Knights.

Q. When?

A. In the latter part of October or the beginning of November, 1863.

Q. Where?

A. In this city, in the Military Hall, on Washington street, between Meridian and Pennsylvania.

Q. Who was in possession of the Hall?

A. It was leased by the Democratic Club of this city.

Q. Was it under their control?

A. It is my impression that it was under their control at the time.

Q. What was the first meeting of the American Knights that you attended?

A. The first meeting, if you can call it such, was my initiation; there were very few present.

Q. Who were present?

A. Mr. Dodd, Mr. Harrison, a man by the name of Jacobs, and Dr. Johnson; I do not recollect any more.

Q. Were any other residents of this city present?

A. I think a person of the name of Vandegriff was there.

Q. Was Mr. Kistine or Hord there?

A. Not at that time.

Q. What took place at that meeting?

A. It was only an informal initiation; we did not go through all the ceremonies; the greater part was omitted.

Q. State to the Court how you came to join the Order, and at whose solicitation you joined.

A. In the latter part of August, or the first of September, I was introduced to a man by the name of P. C. Wright, by Mr. Dodd. He brought him to my office and left him there; said he wanted to have a talk with me. Mr. Wright went on to state his business; gave me a little history of himself; he stated that he was a lawyer in business in New Orleans, at the breaking out of this rebellion; that he was forced to leave there on account of his Union sentiments; that he went to St. Louis, and practiced alternately between St. Louis and New Orleans—in St. Louis in the summer, and New Orleans in the winter; he said he was a lawyer in the celebrated Gaines case, and that in examining the papers of General

to be a secret organization that existed during the Revolutionary War. He told me that General Lee was President of the Association, as appeared from the papers; that Madison, Jefferson, and I believe Washington, had belonged to it; that it had exerted a very powerful agency in maintaining the contest during the war, and establishing our present form of government; that he thought he would establish a similar Order. He told me that the principles of the Order were the same as existed during the Revolution; that the ritual and obligation were nearly the same; that the papers were not perfect, but the omissions were supplied; and that he came to this State for the purpose of extending the Order here. He said it existed in Missouri, Illinois, and even in the Central American States; it was not confined to the United States, but was to extend over all the world, not limited by any geographical divisions. He urged me to join, and take part in it, and be one of the persons to establish the Order here. I said I was opposed to all secret organization—that I never saw any good come from them—and declined. He visited the prominent Democrats of the city, and used the same arguments, but most of them declined. I do not know whether Mr. Dodd was a member of the Order at that time; I understood he intended to be. Mr. Dodd is a gentleman very fond of excitement; he has a natural taste for it. He was a prominent and active member of the Know Nothing Order—one of the most active; and he was head and front of the Sons of Malta in this city; his taste runs that way. I have known Mr. Dodd for many years; for three or four years I have had business relations with him that threw him constantly in contact with me. After Wright left, Dodd urged me to join the association. I declined at first. Finally he told me what its objects were; that it was to be a permanent organization; political, but not partisan; that it was to sympathize with the principles of the Democratic party. He said that the object was to educate the people in the old fashioned republican doctrines, the same as those entertained by Madison and Jefferson; that it was designed to establish a paper here to be the organ and advocate of its principles; and that it was intended to have a large university near the city to educate young men in what he termed correct political doctrines; and that the organization was to be permanent like the Old Fellows or Masons.

When the proposition of the paper was started, he said he wanted to advise with me about many matters which he could not unless I was a member of the organization, and that he could not even tell me the names of the members of the Order; that was one of the obligations of secrecy; but if I would join, he would not put me through the regular ceremonies, but would initiate me informally, and if I did not like it, as I joined voluntarily, so I could leave it whenever I pleased. I thought I saw in this the seeds of discord, so far as the Democratic party was concerned. Being a party man, I thought the only way to secure success was by the uniting of the different elements in opposition to the Administration. With that view of the case I joined at the time I named. Dodd informed me that he had appointed me a delegate to the State Council, which met in November, 1863. I attended; took what they called a Council degree; but what it is I cannot now tell, I paid so little attention to it. The meeting was held in the Military Hall. Dodd presided at the meeting, and Mr. Harrison was Secretary. I do not recollect what other officers were there. I saw Mr. Vandegriff at the meeting, and I think Dr. Athon, Mr. Ristine and Mr. Milligan, the accused, were present. A gentleman named Cushman, from the northern part of the State, was present.

Q. Were any others of the accused present?

A. No, sir.

Q. What business was done at that meeting?

A. The Council was opened in due form; those that had not taken the Council Degree were initiated, and then various committees were appointed. I found myself placed as Chairman of the Committee on Literature.

Q. What other committees were appointed?

A. I do not recollect.

Q. Was a military committee appointed?

A. I do not recollect.

Q. Were any appointments made by Dodd?

A. Not in my hearing.

Q. At what time of day was the meeting held?

A. It convened at 10 o'clock in the morning.

Q. How long did it last?

A. I was there about an hour, but I understood it lasted till evening.

Q. Why did you not remain?

A. I withdrew to write my report. I wrote a brief report, advising, as far as a paper was concerned, that nothing should be done until means were raised to support it a year, and I recommended the indefinite postponement of the university scheme until the next meeting of the Council. I returned then, and some other business was going on, but I do not recollect what. I handed my report to the committee, in which was a Dr. Bryant. I told Cushman that my engagements were such that I could not remain, and he would oblige me if, when the report was called, he would read it.

Q. Did you learn from any member present about the appointment of Major Generals?

A. No, sir.

Q. Did you ever hear of any military appointments being made?

A. No, sir. I did not know that the organization embraced anything of a military nature till the exposure of the Sons of Liberty.

Q. You will please proceed with your narration.

A. I never attended what is called the meeting of the Temple. On the 16th of February another State Council was held. Mr. Dodd informed me that by virtue of my appointment, I had a right to attend. I went in on the morning of the 16th. I had been to the postoffice, and stopped on the way to my own office, for a few minutes. I had nothing to do with the meeting, and did not feel much interest in the matter. I was in again for a little while in the afternoon, when I went to the postoffice a second time. When I went in there was a gentleman of this city making a speech, Major Cook-

Q. How did he come to report that fact?

A. I suppose he had been called upon to report that was what I gathered from the nature of his speech; and that was the first idea I had of its being a military organization. I never read the ritual or the constitution, or by-laws. I think Mr. Heffron was present at that meeting. Mr. Heffron is an old friend of mine and came to my office to see me several times. At one of those interviews we exchanged our opinions as to this association. I told him that I thought no good would come of it. Mr. Heffron coincided with my views, and said he believed it was a humbug. These are the only meetings I attended. I did not wish to belong to the organization. I paid my fees, and asked Mr. Dodd if any formal withdrawal was necessary; he said that my joining was voluntary, and I might withdraw when I liked. I did not consider myself a member of the organization since that time, and have not been a member, though my having been in the Order gives me the confidence of the members, and I have learned many things that I otherwise should not have known.

Q. Did you hear the address of Dodd at the meeting of the 16th or 17th of February?

A. No, sir.

Q. How long were you present?

A. I was not there over twenty or thirty minutes. I heard afterwards that he had delivered an address, but I never read it till I saw it in the Journal of the 30th of July.

Q. Who was present at that meeting?

A. Colonel Bowles, the accused, Dr. Bryant, Mr. Blake, of Terre Haute, Mr. Cushman and Squire McBride, of Evansville. There must have been some thirty or forty there, but few that I was acquainted with.

Q. Was Mr. Milligan or Mr. Humphreys present?

A. Not to my knowledge. I did not see them there. Mr. Heffron was present.

Q. Did you learn what business was transacted at that meeting?

A. I asked the question after the adjournment of the meeting, and they said nothing particular had been done.

Q. Did you learn who had been appointed to the Supreme Council?

THE WESTERN MILITARY USURPATION—POPULAR EX-
CITEMENT AND INDIGNATION—DETERMINED ATTI-
TITUDE OF THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

The outlying act of a long series of en-
croachments by the military power, in the Depart-
ment of the Ohio—namely, the arrest by military
force and summary trial by an unconstitutional
military tribunal, of Hon. Clement L. Vallandig-
ham—has constituted, since our last issue, the
leading topic of public interest; and has aroused
a general and intense feeling of popular indigna-
tion, not unmingled with alarm, at the progress of
military usurpation. A letter from Gov. Seymour,
of this State, elsewhere published, indicates the
dangerous character which is ascribed to the act
of Gen. Burnside, and the extent to which it has
aroused in conservative men a sense of danger to
the public liberties. Gov. Seymour writes forcibly
and without circumlocution, pronouncing the ar-
rest of Mr. Vallandigham a "conscious violation
of law and justice," which has "brought dishonor
upon our country." "The transaction," he de-
clares, "involved a series of offenses against our
most sacred rights:"—the freedom of speech, the
right to be secure in our homes against unreason-
able searches and seizures, and the right to impar-
tial trial. He goes farther, and pronounces the
order of Gen. Burnside previous to the arrest "an
invalid order, put forth in the utter disregard of
the principles of civil liberty." The Governor de-
clares, in fine, that if the proceedings are approved
by the government and sustained by the people,
they constitute REVOLUTION, and ESTABLISH MILI-
TARY DESPOTISM. If thus upheld, he affirms, "*our
liberties are overthrown, the safety of our persons,
security of our property will hereafter depend upon
the arbitrary will of such military rulers as may be
placed over us, while our constitutional guarantees
will be broken down.*"

These are the words of a philosophic statesman,
high in responsible office, character, and reputa-
tion for weighing his words and speaking only
those of truth and soberness. We submit that
they paint a picture to startle the inattentive or
careless observer of political events.

CONSUMMATION OF THE OUTRAGE—MR. VALLANDIG-
HAM SENTENCED.

A Cincinnati dispatch, received here Monday,
announced that Mr. Vallandigham had been se-
cretly conveyed away from that city—it was sup-
posed for Fort Warren. A second dispatch an-
nounces a general order by Gen. Burnside, resit-
ing the proceedings of the Court Martial, the find-
ing of which is a sentence to close imprisonment
during the war in some fortress, to be selected by
the commander of the Department. The order
names Fort Warren as the place of confinement,
and we suppose ere this the victim of a usurpa-
tion hardly less daring than that of Louis Napo-
leon, is shut up in that modern Bastille. We trust
his oppressors will one day have an opportunity
to reflect upon their tyrannical acts in the solitude
of the same dungeon.

A BEBEL PLOT IN CANADA.

An Expedition Ready to Sall from Toronto—The Scheme Detected and Frustrated—The Notorious McDonald Criminated—A Toronto Councilman Implicated—Hand-Grenades, Greek Fire, Shells, &c., Ready for Shipment.

From The Toronto Globe.

The subjoined affidavit was made the other day:

Province of Canada, City of Toronto, to wit: I, Godfrey Joseph Hyams of the city of Toronto, in the county of York, shoemaker, make oath and say:

1. That I am well acquainted with one William Larry McDonald of the said city of Toronto.

2. That the said McDonald placed in my possession, in December last, a considerable quantity of munitions of war, called hand-grenades, cartridges, powder and a sledge, which he told me were intended to be conveyed to the town of Collingwood, to be there put on board the steamer Georgina, which, he said, was being fitted up by the owners, under the supervision of said McDonald, for the raid or expedition from Collingwood aforesaid into the United States of America, in aid of the so-called Confederate States of America.

3. That the said grenades and other munitions of war were left with me to keep till called for by said McDonald, and that they are now in the hands of the police of this city.

4. That I am aware that the said W. L. McDonald at his house on the corner of Agnes and Terauty-sts., in the said city of Toronto, was manufacturing hand-grenades, Greek-fire, shells, and other implements of war, and had a considerable quantity concealed about the premises. I gave notice to the United States Consul in Toronto of the fact, but before the police authorities went to the premises the said munitions and implements had been removed. Some of them have, in fact, been sent to Collingwood, as I am informed and believe, for the said steamer Georgina.

4. I am informed and believe, that in consequence of disclosures made to the said United States Consul here, and the discoveries of the police authorities, the Hon. Robert Spencer did, on Friday last, the 7th day of April inst., proceed to Collingwood to inspect said vessel, and found on board thereof the said W. L. McDonald and various other parties, and thereupon seized the said vessel as being about to pass the frontier of this province to some place in the said United States (with which power Her Majesty the Queen is at peace), he considering that there was probable cause for believing that said vessel was about to be used for the purpose of a raid or expedition into the said United States, contrary to the act of last session of Parliament entitled "An act for the prevention and repression of outrages in violation of the peace of this province, and for other purposes."

6. That from the foregoing facts and from what the said W. L. McDonald himself told me, I say that there is probable cause for believing that the said vessel so seized was and is intended to be used in a manner contrary to the provisions of said act.

7. That I am informed and believe that one George T. Denison is the registered owner of said vessel.

8. That on the Tuesday preceding the said seizure, I was myself on board of said vessel, and saw the Donald aforesaid at work on said vessel, preparing her, as I believe, for the said raid or expedition.

Sworn before me at the City of Toronto aforesaid, this 15th day of April, A. D., 1865.

Wm. B. Richards, C. J. C. P.

GODFREY J. HYAMS.

The conduct of Mr. William Lawrence McDonald as here exposed, is a wretched return for the asylum afforded him in this country, but unfortunately he is not the only man of his class who has rendered us evil for good. It is well however, that his plot has been discovered, and that it can be thwarted, even if he should escape punishment. But there is another person implicated by the above affidavit whose case is even worse than McDonald's. That man is Mr. George T. Denison, City Councilman. He is one of those young persons who are always bawling loyalty into the ears of the people, and insisting that they and those like them have a monopoly of that article, while decent, liberal-minded men are disloyal. He made a speech in that vein at the meeting a few months ago about the Alien Bill, and in a coarse stupid speech at the City Council on Thursday night, had something of the same kind to say. We know what his loyalty is worth.

There can hardly be any pretense of doubt as to the business for which the Georgina was intended. She was designed to be upon the lakes what the Alabama was upon the high seas. She was intended for the dastardly business of assailing unarmed vessels, peacefully engaged in commerce. She was to plunder and destroy the property of private individuals, and not to battle with the armed forces of the belligerent.

The case is vastly worse where, in addition to the ignoble character of the enterprise, we have two other crimes involved. The case of the Georgina involves the blackest ingratitude on the part of the refugees who are concerned in the plot, and on the part of their tool, Mr. Denison, a flagrant disregard of the proclamation of his Sovereign and of the laws of his country. In these respects it is a very different case from that of a privateer fitted out in the country under the authority of which it is to plunder and to destroy.

Had the Georgina sailed on her mission for the destruction of American lake commerce, it is difficult to limit the amount of mischief which she would have inflicted upon us. Not only would injury have been done to a commerce in which our people are deeply interested, but the difficulties arising out of the Lake Erie and St. Albans raids would have been enhanced tenfold.

A New Proof of the Premeditation of the Murder.

From the Cincinnati Gazette, April 20.

One of the most remarkable circumstances connected with the assassination is that all the private boxes in the theatre had been engaged by unknown parties on the morning of Friday. They were unoccupied during the night, so that when Booth jumped on the stage after the commission of the act he did not fear arrest from any parties who might have occupied them. This is but another, and one of the strongest evidences going to show the premeditation of the murder. The question now arises, who rented the boxes, and did it not naturally arouse suspicions on the part of somebody connected with the theatre, to know that all the boxes were rented and yet not occupied? Events will soon determine these mysteries.

Intercepted Letter to Wilkes Booth.

A letter received at Ford's theater, directed to J. Wilkes Booth, has been handed to the police. It is in the handwriting of Junius Brutus Booth, and is simply signed "Jun." The writer speaks significantly of the oil business, and advises young Booth to abandon it now that Richmond has been given up and Lee has surrendered, as his friends believe it will not be profitable. A postscript signed "Alice" is appended, giving Booth similar advice.

Sympathy in the British Provinces.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

St. JOHN, N. B., April 18, 1865.

The feeling of sympathy by the people of this British Province with the people of the United States, upon their late melancholy national bereavement is intense and universal, and has called forth a variety of exhibitions which demonstrate the sincerity of it. On Tuesday last, when the telegrams announced that the obsequies of Abraham Lincoln would be performed throughout the Union on the following day, an earnest desire was expressed on all sides that St. John should become notice the event. In consequence of a requisition signed by a large number of the most influential merchants, His worship the Mayor issued a proclamation, which was carried out most fully in the following manner:

At 11 o'clock a. m. on Wednesday all the public offices and all the stores and offices of mercantile and professional life were closed, the public schools dismissed, the blinds of hundreds of leading citizens' residences were lowered, all labor was suspended, and from all the public buildings, and from every available place, and on the shipping in the harbor, and on the offices of the foreign consuls, &c., flags were displayed at half-mast, while the city gong tolled from 12 noon until 1 o'clock p. m. The entire demonstration lasted from 11 a. m. until 2 p. m., was most decorously performed, and was only a faint indication of the public sorrow for the untimely death of Abraham Lincoln, the great and the good. No language can describe the air of solemn sadness which pervaded the city, nor can it overestimate the spontaneous sympathy of all the people, irrespective of creed or opinions on political subjects; for the citizens of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, by many thousands here—loyal subjects of Great Britain—was beloved and admired during his official life, and is now deplored and honored in his martyr death. With them, his name will be associated with those of the Presidents of the earlier years of the history of the United States. It is well that the Union bows in anguish over his death, for, whatever may have been his faults or shortcomings—"take him for all in all, she never may look upon his like again."

NY Tribune
4/24/65

LETTER FROM ST. CHARLES, MO.

Special Correspondence Daily Journal.

St. Charles, Mo., March 14, 1866.

Dear Journal: The rebels now are, in some counties in this State, taking new names. For instance, in Macon county they have formed themselves into a secret society, dubbing themselves "United Union Republicans." That's the name, brother Democrats, they have given the child. What say you? Not Democrat—not Conservative, but Republicans, and they are working in secret, as they thought, at least, organizing, as they say, endorsing Andrew Johnson, and opposing the new Constitution. Law-abiding Democrats, these anti-Know Nothings! They do know but little save hypocrisy and treachery to the laws of the land. In another county they have again organized the hellish K. G. C.s—all Democracy, no matter about the name.

Reader, you may inquire why these birds oppose the Constitution of this State. I will in brief tell you. The Constitution prohibits men who took up arms against the Government during the rebellion from voting. It also prohibits those who aided the rebels, if they are lawyers, from practicing, if preachers, from preaching, and teachers from teaching, etc. So you see it keeps these miserable rebels from getting into office. "That's what's the matter," in a nut-shell. And these rebels are all on the Democratic, K. G. C., United Union Republican, Conservative, any-name party side, and all swear they are one and the same, inseparable, indivisible, and are for the Con-stitution, according to their own construction, that is, to get into office.

But the Union men of this State have the true ring about them and they are on the alert. Men of true loyalty are being appointed supervisors of registration, and you may rest assured Mr. Democratic-rebel will stand less chance of voting than he will of being struck by lightning. If they ever expect to vote they must migrate to other climes.

Emigration still pours into this State. They come from the East and the West. Get into the cars and one would think that all on board are persons coming to this State. Times without number you will be asked are you a resident of this State, and what is the price of land in such and such counties? How is the soil? Will it produce wheat? Have they any "chineh bug?" Is it a good stock county? Is the raising of sheep profitable?

All seem to want to do something and the something they wish most to do is to secure a fortune soon. Many, perchance, may go away dissatisfied.

The inventive Yankee is here although he is much hated in many parts of the State. But you can't stop him. He comes with his corn-planter, his wheat-drill, his model plow, his reaper, his mower, his loom, his corn-sheller, his hay press. It is enough to make a horse laugh to see a Yankee enter a village with his neatly made model, and hear the many strange inquiries made about the implement. "Wall," they say, "thar may be somethin' good about that 'ar thing. What is it wuth? Does it by boss pullin' or steam pushin'?" Of course the sharp-nosed Yankee takes a great delight in explaining the wonderful properties of his elixir of a "masheen."

Hotels are crowded with agents of all kinds—even the corn doctors are here in abundance, and say they are doing a healing business.

Come along, agents, you will find plenty of good company, at least; sleep three in a bed, ten to twelve in a room, "poor grub," and enormously high bills. Be sure and engage on a salary.

PERSONAL.

We made the acquaintance of Colonel Moore, late of the 58th Indiana Volunteers. He is in the dry goods trade at Macon City. He is an affable gentleman, a brave soldier, and loyal to the core. He is doing a good business in his trade.

Mr. Cook, the old painter, for many years a resident of your city, is now coloring houses in Macon—has plenty of work, and does it up in "tip-top" style. So say his customers.

We also had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of J. P. McKinnie, late of Anderson, in your State, and brother of the obliging clerk of the Little House of your city. Mr. McKinnie is selling dry goods in Kingston, Caldwell county, in this State—and informs me that he is well satisfied with his new home, and is making his business win.

Mr. Warren, an agent for the firm of Omer Newman & Co., of your city, is traveling in this State, and is making good headway in selling Russell's reaper, mower and thresher. Success to the Hoosiers!

I must speak in this connection of John P. Clark, land agent at Mexico, Audrain county. He is one of the most gentlemanly business men I have met with in this State. He has a residence of more than twenty years in the county, and one of the best counties in the State. My advice to Hoosiers wishing to emigrate to this State, if they come in person, to be sure and give him a call. If they do not wish to come at present, but anticipate coming in a future day, open correspondence with him. He will take great pleasure in attending to your wants. I make this notice because there are in this State so many land "sharks," whose only aim is to get your money.

"Sparks," on Tuesday evening, whilst in conversation with some gentlemen, had his pocket relieved of about \$45, and some valuable papers, among which were railroad passes, letters of recommendation, &c. A very mean thief that, I think, as it leaves the writer without a spark in his pocket of the "ready Joe." If he is an honest thief, he will certainly return the papers, at least. Of course he needs the money, and will use it. But then to think of his riding on the ears with a correspondent's pass!—that is too much. But some wide-awake conductor will no doubt pick him up.

The weather has made about a score of changes since I wrote you, and to-day it is cold, and the ground white with snow. Gentle spring-time, oh! come quickly, &c., and let us embrace you—and then let us stay "embraced" for at least a week—then you may make a slight change to suit some other persons—but by all means do not make the change too radical, for it so annoys us.

Business, so far as I have been able to learn, throughout the State is rather dull, owing to the scarcity of money—everybody seems to be waiting for the emigrant to come and bring his money. If money were plenty, a vast trade would be carried on throughout this State. Much will be done, however, in all branches of trade.

I am SPARKS.

True journal 3-20-66

The Citizens of Baltimore Asked to Organize
Against the General Government.

From the Baltimore Gazette (Dem.).

The desperate men in power have thrown off all disguise, and announced to the country that they mean to carry the next election at the point of the bayonet. Between the lines of the infamous instructions to the marshals of the United States just issued by the Attorney General, with the approval of the President, every man can read the policy of the Republican party in the great struggle that is before us. It means to win the next election at any price, and the bloodier the price that is paid for it the better will it please the band of robbers and plunderers who have practically uprooted the foundations of our Government, and turned Democracy into despotism. Taft's order is not the first, but the last, step toward empire. If the country submit to it, government of the people, for the people, and by the people, has been overthrown; elections are a mockery; the suffrage a delusion, and the ballot-box a snare. We appeal to every lover of his country, without distinction of party, to consider the situation: It is ordered by a corrupt, rotten scab in Washington, that the Marshals of the United States, in every hamlet and city from Florida to Maine, and from ocean to ocean, shall call out the whole force of the Government to control the elections. The army, the navy, the militia of the States are, according to Mr. Taft and President Grant, all subordinate to these minions of the Federal authority. State lines have been wiped out; State authority has been overthrown. The Marshal of the United States takes the place of the Governor and of the Mayor. His orders are supreme. He has been instructed to set their authority at defiance; to call to his support and practically recruit an army to assist him in his work of intimidation.

The time has come when we must meet force with force. To the bayonet we must oppose the bayonet. That is the only way to save republican institutions and democracy in the United States. The party in power is resolved upon the adoption of desperate methods to retain their supremacy, and it is only by desperate methods the party of constitutional government can successfully oppose and defeat them. Louis Napoleon never dared to do in France what the Republican party has resolved to do within the next sixty days. It has sent out its manifests that there shall not be a fair election; that in the selection of the next President, the will of the people shall be set at defiance, and that only those who vote for it shall vote at all. If we allow this policy to be successfully inaugurated and carried out, Republican government in the United States is dead. All that we have contended for during a hundred years will have perished. The defeat of the bad, bold men who have resolved upon this desperate course can only be secured by the adoption of their own methods. The party of constitutional government everywhere and especially in the State of Maryland and the city of Baltimore, must teach them that force will be met by force. The time has come for all good men who love their country and love the Union, to organize and show the men who would overturn the Union that they can only do it by the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of lives. Let us begin the work in Baltimore at once and organize immediately. Let us have the Minute Men of '76. No law must be broken. Their aim should be to defend the law; to protect the imperiled Constitution of our common country. It is fitting that Baltimore and Maryland, which may be called the cradle of civil and religious liberty in America, should take the lead in this most patriotic work. If Baltimore shall send out the voice, the echo of the voice that Paul Revere sent out from the Old South Church of Boston a hundred years ago, we shall have the continent in a whirl of patriotism within thirty days, and the desperate men who are seeking the overthrow of American liberties will have been defeated. Let us have the "Minute Men of '76" organized, drilled, equipped and led by the best men who can be found to lead them. This is the great duty of the hour. To your tents O, Israel!

ON DEBARRING TRAITORS FROM PUBLIC SERVICE.

"I say that the traitor has ceased to be a citizen, and in joining the rebellion, has become a public enemy. He forfeited his right to vote with loyal men when he renounced his citizenship, and sought to destroy our Government. We say to the most honest and industrious foreigner who comes from England or Germany, to dwell among us, and to add to the wealth of the country, 'Before you can be a citizen you must stay here for five years.' If we are so cautious about foreigners who voluntarily renounce their homes to live with us, what should we say to the traitor, who, although born and reared among us, has raised a parricidal hand against the Government which always protected him? MY JUDGMENT IS THAT HE SHOULD BE SUBJECTED TO A SEVERE ORDEAL BEFORE HE IS RESTORED TO CITIZENSHIP. A fellow who takes the oath merely to save his property, and denies the validity of the oath, is a perjured man and not to be trusted. BEFORE THESE REPENTING REBELS CAN BE TRUSTED, LET THEM BRING FORTH THE FRUITS OF REPENTANCE."—Andrew Johnson, June 10, 1864.

ON EQUAL CIVIL RIGHTS.

"I desire that all men shall have a fair start and an equal chance in the race of life, and let him succeed who has the most merit. This, I think, is a principle of heaven. I am for emancipation for two reasons: first, because it is right in itself, and second, because in the emancipation of the slaves, we break down an odious and dangerous aristocracy. I think that we are freeing more whites than blacks in Tennessee."—Andrew Johnson, June 10, 1864.

"I, ANDREW JOHNSON, hereby proclaim liberty—full, broad, and unconditional liberty—to every man in Tennessee! I will be your Moses, and lead you through the Red Sea of struggle and servitude, to a future of liberty and peace! Rebellion and slavery shall no more pollute our State. Loyal men, whether white or BLACK, shall alone GOVERN the State."—Andrew Johnson's speech to the colored citizens of Nashville, October 25, 1864.

ON NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

"EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, August 15, 1865.

Governor W. I. Sharkey, Jackson, Mississippi:

"I am gratified to see that you have organized your convention without difficulty. I hope that without delay your convention will amend your State Constitution, abolishing slavery and denying to all future legislatures the power to legislate that there is property in man; also, that they will adopt the amendment to the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery. If you could extend the elective franchise to all persons of color who can read the Constitution of the United States in English, and write their names, and to all persons of color who own real estate valued at not less than two hundred and fifty dollars and pay taxes thereon, you would completely disarm the adversary and set an example the other States would soon follow. This you can do with perfect safety, and you thus place the Southern States, in reference to free persons of color, upon the same basis with the free States.

I HOPE AND TRUST YOUR CONVENTION WILL DO THIS, and, as a consequence, the Radicals, who are wild upon negro franchise, will be completely foiled in their attempt to keep the Southern States from renewing their relations to the Union, by not accepting their Senators and Representatives.

ANDREW JOHNSON,
President of the United States."

"My position here is different from what it would be if I was in Tennessee. THERE I SHOULD TRY TO INTRODUCE NEGRO SUFFRAGE GRADUALLY; first, those who had served in the army, those who could read and write, and perhaps a property qualification for others, say two hundred or two hundred and fifty dollars."—President Andrew Johnson, November, 1865.

ON NORTHERN COPPERHEADS.

"He who stands off stirring up discontent in this State and higgling about negroes, is practically in the rebel camp, and encourages treason. He who in Indiana or Ohio, makes war upon the Government out of regard to slavery, is just as bad."—Andrew Johnson at Nashville, June 10th, 1866.

DAILY JOURNAL.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
W. R. HOLLOWAY & CO.,
Journal Building.

INDIANAPOLIS, SATURDAY, NOV. 3, 1864.

The press of important matter on our columns this morning, compels us to omit our usual summary of news.

Heffren's Revelations of the Conspiracy.

The treason trials which have been in progress in this city for some weeks, have presented some startling instances of the sudden awakening of a sluggish conscience, or of buried apprehensions. The faculty of wonder, we thought, was pretty nearly used up when J. J. Bingham, Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, and editor of the party's leading organ, turned upon his sworn brothers, and his own solemn and reiterated declarations, and admitted upon oath that he was a member of an order which he had steadily asserted never existed, and that he was fully advised of an insurrection which he had always denied, and refused to reveal because it might "damage his party." But yesterday afternoon Horace Heffren, Deputy Grand Commander of the "Order of American Knights," or "Sons of Liberty" in this State, stuck a spur of portentous length into the side of our jaded astonishment, and ran it clear out of sight ahead of the place where it fainted under Bingham's pusillanimous revelations. He was put upon the stand by Judge Advocate Burnett, and testified, *first*, that he was a member of the O. A. K., subsequently renamed Sons of Liberty, and that he was elected Deputy Grand Commander in February last; *second*, that within the Order was a military organization whose chief object was to separate the North-Western States from the Eastern, and either form a separate confederation of them, or attach them to the rebel Confederacy; *third*, that Dr. Bowles was chief of this military organization, with a staff, and in respect of it was the superior of Grand Commander Dodd, the unhung; *fourth*, that John C. Walker, L. P. Milligan, and Andrew Humphreys were the other three Major Generals; *fifth*, that the Adjutant General of Bowles's staff, Dr. James B. Wilson, showed him \$1000 which Bowles had furnished to purchase arms for the Order to resist the Government with in Washington county, and said "there was plenty more where that came from;" *sixth*, that Wilson said that rebel agents in Canada had sent \$500,000 to purchase arms for the Order in Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky, of which Dodd received \$100,000, and John C. Walker \$100,000 for this State; *seventh*, that a committee of thirteen was appointed by Dodd to arrange the time and mode of an uprising against the Government; *eighth*, that in this uprising the rebel prisoners here, and in Illinois and Ohio, were to be released, and seized from the Government arsenals, which were to be seized, the State government overturned, Governor Morton to be captured and held as a hostage for the safety of any of the insurrectionists who should be taken prisoners by the soldiers, and if he could not be held as

a hostage he was to be killed; *ninth*, that *ten men were appointed by the committee of thirteen to kill or capture Governor Morton*, and when he was made way with, or to use Mr. Heffren's delicate euphemism, "taken care of," Dr. Athon was to take his place, and call out the State militia to complete the revolution.

We desire to point the reader's attention to but three points in this astounding and undoubtedly truthful revelation.

1st. It establishes beyond all question a connection between the Order and the rebels. If they had not been fully advised of each other's plans and means, neither would have trusted the other with a half million of dollars. The rebels have no money to throw away, and they are too shrewd to risk the equipment of 25,000 men upon vague assurances, or uncertain support. The rebels and Bowles, Dodd, Walker and their Democratic associates held, therefore, as full and direct connection with the rebels as the rebels held among themselves. Add to these revelations of Heffren's that of Mr. Bingham, that three rebel officers came to this city to consult John C. Walker and perfect the plans for the release and direction of the prisoners in the Northwest, and that Mr. Bingham never whispered a word of it to anybody for more than three months, but let them go as quietly as if they were loyal men on an honorable errand, and we have as much evidence as any sane man wants of collusion between these Democrats and the rebels.

2d. Dr. Athon, the present Secretary of State, is proved by Mr. Bingham to have been fully informed of the intended insurrection of Bowles, Dodd, Walker, and the rest. Mr. Heffren swore that he was to have been made Governor, as provided by law in case of the death of the Governor and Lieut. Governor, as soon as the ten murderers of Dodd's selection had "taken care" of Governor Morton. Of this too, he was informed, if Mr. Bingham told the truth, when he said that he revealed the whole conspiracy to the Secretary. Yet he never took a single step, or said a single word, in his official capacity, to expose or defeat the infernal plot. He went about his business as usual, and nothing betrayed that he was possessed of the details of a scheme before which the "Gunpowder Plot," the "Popish Plot," the "Rye-house Plot," and all the real and chimerical crises of English history pale their ineffestual horrors. He was an officer of the Government to be overthrown, sworn to sustain it, and by inevitable implication bound to reveal at once, and defeat, all efforts to disturb and destroy it. But he did nothing. Why? Was his ambition drawn over his duty so completely by the hope of becoming Governor, and possibly Dictator of the new dispensation, that he could see the chance of elevation, and not at all the commands of duty, and the obligations of his oath? Or unlike Mr. Bingham, did he deem his oath to the Order of higher import, than his oath of office? The Commission might spend a few minutes profitably in obtaining some light on these points.

3d. But the most startling revelation made by Mr. Heffren was that *ten men had been set apart by the committee of thirteen to kill Governor Morton*, if it was found necessary to the success of the insurrection. Mark here, that the Judge Advocate had no knowledge whatever of this decemvirate of assassins, except what was conveyed in the anonymous letter to Governor Morton, which we published a few days

ago. He thought it possible, as the letter exhibited unequivocal marks of being genuine, that some sort of a band had been formed to murder the Governor, and he desired to test its suspicions by evidence. He was astonished in the crowded court room was silent with amazement, when Mr. Heffren said that "ten men had been selected to make way with the governor." The anonymous threat was made at once a real and horrible fact. It was not the wild rant of a fanatic, or the joke of an idle fool, but the deliberate scheme of a band carefully picked out the Order all over the State, and set to murder as coolly as if murder were a respectable occupation. Their letter meant what it threatened, and that it was their letter is as certain as that Dodd is not hung, and that Bowles and alker ought to be. How else should it have designated the number of the assassins, and told so explicitly the work they were to do? Until yesterday afternoon no living being outside the Order of the Sons of Liberty, knew that a band had been selected, and even Mr. Athon did not know who they were. The secret of the letter was in the most secret of secrets of the Order, beyond all doubt.

Now what are we to think of an Order which, as Mr. Heffren said, "nobody but Democrats had ever been admitted, to which only but Democrats had ever applied for admission, and into which nobody but a Democrat would have been admitted if he had applied," which appoints committees on murder

and literature, arms and ammunition, which corresponds and conspires with rebel agents, receives money to purchase arms for rebel help, which plots revolution and war on a scale to which the three thousand years of European legend and history afford no parallel. And what are we to think of the party out of which such an Order can grow, and from which it derives the nutriment that sustains it? People of Indiana, answer at the polls on Tuesday!

Horace Heffren on the Witness Stand.

The Military Commission now engaged in trying the chiefs of this rebel Order in this State, is laying bare the dimensions of the conspiracy against the General and State Governments, which has astounded those of our citizens who had been lulled into a feeling of security by the persistent denials of the State Sentinel and other Copperhead journals, that no such Order existed, and that the charge was a mere partisan trick to injure the Democratic party. One by one the men engaged in the criminal designs of that traitorous conspiracy take the witness stand, and divulge the secrets of that bloody-minded combination.

The testimony given by Mr. Bingham was astounding, and had he not been a prominent Democrat, his party organs would have denounced his statements as a tissue of falsehoods; but as it is, they are silent.

On yesterday, Horace Heffren, Deputy Grand Commander of the Order in this State, and one of the parties on trial, was discharged from custody and placed upon the witness stand. His testimony in some points is new, and is, if possible, more startling than that of Mr. Bingham. His evidence is fully reported in this paper, and we scarcely need advise our readers to give it an attentive perusal.

It appears from the evidence of Mr. Heffren, that the organization was, in General Carrington's stated in his report to the Governor, both civil and military in its character. He further says that none of the Democrats belonged to it, and that none other would have been admitted. The Sentinel, and other papers of the same kidney, have protested with the utmost vehemence, that the Democratic party was innocent of any complicity with the treasonable organization, but Mr. Heffren tells a different and more truthful story.

It has been often charged that there was a design on the part of prominent Democrats of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and other Western States, to establish a Northwestern Confederacy, with a view to an ultimate Union with the South. This has been denied with every appearance of candor by the Democratic press, and those who have asserted it have been unsparingly denounced as slanderers of the Democratic party; yet Mr. Heffren testifies that that was the main purpose of the Order. He says: "The military organization, as I learned, was for the purpose of separating the Northwestern States from the East, and establishing a Northwestern Confederacy, and failing in that to unite with the South."

Is it surprising, in view of these facts, that the war continues, and lingers beyond the time when the South could be expected to endure the contest?

Is it not evident that the rebel chiefs have continued the fight, relying on aid from the North sooner or later?

And is it a matter of wonder that the rebel soldiers charge the battalions of Sherman's invincible army, with burials for McClellan when they know that a vast multitude of his supporters have long been plotting to overthrow the Government of the United States, and establish the independence of the military despotism of the South upon its ruins?

Our readers will remember that when a seizure of a quantity of arms was made at the office of Dodd, we stated our belief that the money with which they were purchased was a part of the proceeds of the rebel European cotton loan. Mr. Heffren confirms our judgment. He says that \$500,000 was sent by rebel agents in Canada, to Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky to purchase arms for the Order, of which amount Dodd and John C. Walker received \$100,000 each.

Soon after the seizure of the arms in Dodd's possession, Walker, it will be remembered, published an insulting letter to Governor Morton, in which the traitorous scoundrel claimed that the arms were his private property, and that the Governor should protect his rights therein, and the whole Confederate press of the Northwest, from the Chicago Times down, joined in Walker's onslaught against Governor Morton, on account of the invasion of his rights. Yet, Walker was then an agent of the rebels; the arms were rebel property, and most, if not all the men who sustained him knew the facts.

The loyal Democrats who have abandoned the party since it became the mere appendage of Jeff. Davis, have reason to congratulate themselves that the instincts of patriotism led them into the true path. As the crimes of their leaders have gradually manifested themselves, true and honest Democrats everywhere, have turned their backs upon party associations, discarded party libels, and like men worthy of the glorious heritage bequeathed to them by the patriots of the past, have determined to stand by their country against all assailants.

On yesterday we chronicled the fact that ex-Governor Daunting had abandoned his party associates, and henceforth the work of Democratic disintegration must go on in an increased ratio, for the party is leprous with treason, and unworthy the support of any man who is true to the country and solicitous for its welfare.

Ind. Daily Journal 11-5-64

DEFLIANCE OF THE UNITED STATES SOLDIERS.

Canton (Miss.) Mail.

If the Governor makes no requisition and Grant sends the troops anyhow, will not the people be justified before the law in resisting the intervention of the military in time of peace? Let the constitutional lawyers of the Radical Party crack this nut."

Vicksburg Herald.

Gov. Stone is the commander in Mississippi, and when troops are needed in this State he or the Legislature will call for them. Until such call is made the troops commanded by Col. Brooke are trespassers, and Gov. Stone will be justified in ordering him to attend to his own affairs. If Gen. A. is anxious to do something, let him send Col. Brooke to the Indian Territory. His presence in Mississippi is not needed, and should not be tolerated.

"SEC. 5,239.—Whenever insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combination, or conspiracy in any State so obstructs or hinders the execution of the laws thereof and of the United States as to deprive any portion or class of the people of such State of any of the rights, privileges, immunities, or protection named in the Constitution, and secured by the laws for the protection of such rights, privileges, or immunities, and the constituted authorities of such State are unable to protect, or from any cause fail in or refuse protection to the people in such rights, such facts shall be deemed a denial by such State of the equal protection of the laws to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the United States; and in all such cases, or wherever such insurrection, violence, unlawful combinations or conspiracy, opposes or obstructs the laws of the United States, or the due execution thereof, or impedes or obstructs the due course of justice under the same, it shall be lawful for the President, and it shall be his duty to take such measures, by the employment of the militia or the land and naval forces of the United States, or of either, or by other means as he may deem necessary, for the suppression of such insurrection, domestic violence, or combination."

8-24-76

UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT.

Charge to the Grand Jury—Treason—Who are Enemies.

Before Judge Nelson.

A Grand Jury having been summoned for this morning, the following persons were impaneled:

Andrew Anderson,
Albert Canfield,
John Denham,
Joshua J. Henry,
John R. Lawrence,
George P. Olyphant,
George M. Ray,
Edward Schell,
William Tucker,
Jacob Vanderpool,
Alexander R. Walsh,
Benjamin Coe Wendell.

Mr. Wendell was appointed foreman, and Judge Nelson proceeded to deliver to the Jury, after they were sworn in, the following charge:

GENTLEMEN OF THE GRAND JURY: Among the list of criminal cases put into my hands by the United States District-Attorney, to be submitted to you, there are six upon charges of robbery and piracy under the acts of Congress of 1790 and 1820—Albert G. Hudgins, and four others, of the privateer *Sumter*, and James Milner, of the privateer *Jefferson Davis*. The eighth section of the act of 1790 declares that if any person upon the high seas shall commit murder or robbery, or any other offence, which, if committed within the body of a county, would, by the laws of the United States, be punishable with death, such offender shall be deemed to be a pirate and felon, and, on conviction, shall suffer death. And the ninth section, if any citizen shall commit any piracy or robbery as aforesaid, or any act of hostility against the United States, or any citizen thereof, upon the high seas, under color of any commission from any foreign prince or State, or on pretence of authority from any person, such offender shall be deemed a pirate, felon and robber, and, on conviction, shall suffer death. The third section of the act of 1820 declares that if any person shall, upon the high seas, &c., commit the crime of robbery in or upon any ship or vessel, or upon any ship's company of any ship or vessel, or upon the landing thereof, such person shall be adjudged a pirate, and, on conviction, shall suffer death. The crime of robbery or piracy under these acts consists in this. The felonious taking of the goods or property of another on the high seas against his will, by violence or putting him in bodily fear. By "felonious taking" is meant a taking with a wrongful intent to appropriate the goods of another. The cases usually arising under these acts consist in the commission of the crime by partisans in armed vessels upon American unarmed ships or vessels on the high seas, by taking forcible possession of them and of the cargo, and appropriating them to their own use, or for gain. The ninth section of the Act of 1790 provides against these crimes when committed by citizens of the United States, and distinguishes them from the cases in which they are committed by foreigners, by excluding the defence set up of an authority or commission from a foreign nation. By a rule of international law, in case of a war existing between this Government and a foreign nation, and a capture of our vessels on the high seas by a private armed vessel of the enemy, a commission from his Government would be a protection against the charge of robbery or piracy, even in our own Courts. The ninth section cuts off this defence in case of a citizen engaging in that service against his own country. There are also charges in the list of the District-Attorney against Erastus H. Booth, master of the bark *Buckeye*, for piracy, under the fourth and fifth sections of the act of 1820, for having been engaged in the Slave-trade; also against John Turner and others, of the ship *Falmouth*, for voluntarily serving on board a vessel engaged in this trade which came under the second and third section of the act of 1800, and against Albert Horn for fitting out the brig *Signet*, and Antonio Rose for fitting out the brig *Falmouth* for the slave trade, which came under the second and third sections of the act of 1818. The fourth section of the act of 1820 declares that if any citizen of the United States, of the crew of any foreign ship engaged in the slave trade, or if any person of the crew of a ship owned, in whole or in part, or n-avigated for, on behalf of any citizen of the United States, shall land from such ship, and, on any foreign shore, seize any negro or mulatto, &c., with intent to make him or her a slave, or shall decoy, or forcibly bring or receive him or her on board any such ship, with the intent aforesaid, such citizen or person shall be adjudged a pirate; and, on conviction, shall suffer death.

The fifth section annexes the same penalty for forcibly confining, or detaining such persons on board the vessel, with the intent to make them slaves, or in aiding or assisting in so doing, or in the attempt to sell them as slaves, or the landing of them on shore from on board the vessel with intent to make sale of them as slaves. The act of 1800 makes it a crime to serve voluntarily on board of any of the vessels engaged in the Slave-trade, punishable by fine and im-

prisonment. A fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding two years. The third section of the act of 1818 prohibits the building, fitting out, equipping, loading, or otherwise preparing or sending away any ship or vessel at any port within the jurisdiction of the United States, for the purpose of procuring any negro or mulatto, or person of color, from any foreign kingdom, place or country, to be transported to any port or place whatever, to be held, sold, or otherwise disposed of, as slaves—and, on conviction of the offence, the person is punishable by imprisonment for the term of not exceeding seven years, nor less than three.

From the number of cases on the District-Attorney's list of charges for a violation of the acts of Congress against the slave-trade, it would seem that the crime was increasing in this country, instead of diminishing. It is some satisfaction, however, that the evidence, thus furnished, of the apparent increase of the crime, shows a vigilance and energy on the part of the public authorities to detect and bring to punishment the offenders. The offence against these laws is among the most atrocious on the statute-book; and should be inquired into by your body with a patience and perseverance from which no person or persons can escape who may be guilty within the limits of your jurisdiction. The duty and the power of extirpating the offence so far as your great City may be implicated, belong to and rest, in a good degree, upon the Grand Jury, who constitute the grand inquest of the City and county, as respects crimes against the laws of the United States.

The remaining offences to be inquired into, submitted by the District-Attorney, are cases of less magnitude, but of more frequent occurrence, and deserve your particular attention.

They are larcenies upon the high seas—endeavors to make a revolt—assaults with dangerous weapons on board American vessels—purloining letters from the Post-office, and the embezzlement of munitions of war, which is made punishable under the act of 1790.

The unhappy condition of our country, arising out of the unnatural struggle of the people of a portion of the Union to overthrow their Government, has created new relations among, and imposed new duties upon, the citizens, which have brought into operation crimes and guilt that, to the great credit of the country, have heretofore been rare; indeed, I may say, almost unknown to her laws and judicial tribunals. I refer to the crime of treason against the United States. Although no case of this description has been presented by the District-Attorney to be specially submitted to you, it may not be out of place to call your attention, in a general way, to the elements constituting this offence. It is the highest crime known to society, and was deemed by the founders of our Government of such importance, both in respect to the Government and the citizen, that they specially defined it in the Constitution; thus, taking it out of the power of legislative regulation. The definition is found in the third section of the third article as follows:

"Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court." The power to annex the punishment was left to Congress, which annexed the penalty of death.

This definition of the crime was taken from the statute of 25 Edward III. of England, and which has been several times reaffirmed for the purpose of correcting abuses that had grown up in that kingdom in respect to the law, both by acts of Parliament and the decisions of courts, under the tyrannical reigns of the Tudors and the Stuarts. Those abuses were well known to the founders of our Government, and doubtless led to the peculiar phraseology observable in the definition of the crime, namely, that it should consist only in levying war against the United States, or adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort; and to the other equally stringent feature, that no person shall be convicted of the offence except on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act. The first prohibits Congress from making any other acts of the citizen than those specified, treason; and the second prevents the introduction of constructive treasons, which had been engrafted upon this statute of Edward III. by judicial decisions.

Under the first clause of the provision—levying war against the United States—there can be no great difficulty in determining the facts and circumstances which establish the crime. There must be an actual levying of war; a consultation, or conspiracy to do so, is not an overt act within the constitutional definition.

There is more difficulty in determining what constitutes the overt act under the second clause—namely, adhering to the enemy, giving him aid and comfort. Questions arising under this clause must depend very much upon the facts and circumstances of each particular case. There are some acts of the citizen in his relations with the enemy which leave no room for doubt—such as giving intelligence with intent to aid him in his act of hostility—sending him provisions or money—furnishing arms, or troops, or munitions of war—surrendering a military post, &c., all with a like intent. These and kindred facts are overt acts of treason by adhering to the enemy.

Words oral, written or printed, however treasonable, seditious or criminal of themselves, do not constitute an overt act of treason within the definition of the crime.

When spoken, written or printed in relation to an act or acts, which, if committed with a treasonable design, might constitute such overt act, they are admissible as evidence tending to characterize it, and show the intent with which the act was committed.

They may also furnish some evidence of the act itself against the accused. Thus is the extent to which such publications may be used, either in finding a bill of indictment or on the trial of it.

An attempt was made in the Parliament of England, during the reign of James the Second, to make treasonable words the subject of this crime; but it was resisted by the friends of constitutional liberty and defeated, and since that time it has not been renewed.

Such publications are misdemeanors at common law, indictable, and punishable by fine and imprisonment. But as there are no common law offences cognisable in the Federal Courts, unless made so by act of Congress; and, as Congress has passed no act on the subject, this Court has no jurisdiction over them. The only act passed by Congress on the subject was the act of 14th of July, 1798. The second section of that act provided that if any person shall write, print, utter, or publish any false, scandalous and malicious writing, or writings, against the Government, or either House of Congress, or of the President, with intent to defame the Government, Congress, or the President; or to bring them or either of them into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them or either of them, the hatred of the people of the United States; or to stir up sedition within the same, or, to excite unlawful combinations therein for opposing or resisting any law, or any act of the President done in pursuance thereof, &c., such person, on conviction, shall be punished by fine not exceeding \$2,000, and imprisonment not exceeding two years.

The act was a temporary one, and expired on the 3d of March, 1801, by its own limitation, and no similar act has since been passed. On the breaking out of a war between two nations, the citizens or subjects of the respective belligerents, are deemed by the law of nations as the enemies of each other. The same is true, in a qualified sense, in the case of a civil war arising out of an insurrection or rebellion against the mother Government. In the latter case, the citizens or subjects residing within the insurrectionary district, not implicated in the rebellion, but adhering to their allegiance, are not enemies, nor to be regarded as such. This distinction was constantly observed in Scotland, under the Pretender and his son in the years 1715 and 1745. It modifies the law, as it respects the condition of the citizens or subjects residing within the limits of the revolted district, who remain loyal to the Government. As it respects those of two sovereign nations in a state of war, all commercial intercourse between them is forbidden by the law of nations; all contracts are unlawful, and any goods or property, the subjects of the one of the belligerents, are liable to seizure and confiscation. This is true also as it respects the citizens or subjects in revolt and making war upon the mother Government. But trade with the loyal portion of the people in the disaffected district, in good faith and without collusion with the enemy, is lawful, unless interdicted by the Government.

The principle is recognized by the recent act of Congress, passed 17th of July, 1861. The fifth section provides that the President, by proclamation, may declare that the inhabitants of a State, or of any part of it, are in a state of insurrection, and, thereupon all commercial intercourse shall cease between the citizens thereof and the citizens of the rest of the United States; and the goods and merchandise, &c., the subject of the illicit trade, liable to seizure and confiscation. Here the trade and intercourse is interdicted by the proper authority, and the interdiction applies to the loyal as well as the disloyal citizens or inhabitants.

The sixth section goes further, and forfeits any ship or vessel belonging, in whole or in part, to a citizen or inhabitant of the interdicted State or district, found at sea or in any part of the rest of the United States. The forfeiture applies to the loyal as well as the disloyal citizens in the disaffected district, probably, from the difficulty of making the forfeiture practical and complete against the latter without making it general. The Government, however, having a general control over the subject, can remedy any injustice as respects the loyal citizen by releasing the forfeiture.

This section, in terms, forfeits the whole of the vessel if part belonged to the citizens of the disaffected district, and would seem to carry with it any interest in the vessel belonging to citizens of the loyal States. This, however, can hardly have been the intention of Congress.

Trade with the enemy, as we have already said, according to the law of nations, is forbidden; and, the property engaged in it liable to forfeiture—as is the trade in the particular cases specified in the act of Congress referred to. But, this is all. The act is not made criminal; and until made so by Congress, no punishment is annexed to it, except the forfeiture of the goods. But, this interdicted trade may be carried on in a way, so as to expose the parties concerned to the crime of treason. If carried on for the purpose and with the intent to give aid and assistance to the enemy in their hostility against the Government, the act would furnish an overt act of adhering to the enemy, giving him aid and comfort. Every citizen, therefore, engaged in carrying on this illicit trade will find a much greater peril accompanying the enterprise than the mere forfeiture of his goods.

There is a recent act of Congress, passed July 31, 1861, to which it is proposed to call your attention. It

provides, that if two or more persons within a State or Territory, shall conspire together to overthrow by force the Government, or to levy war against it, or to oppose by force its authority, or prevent the execution of any law, or seize the public property, or prevent any person from accepting any office, the offenders, on conviction, shall be punished by fine or imprisonment, with or without hard labor, or both, as the Court may determine.

These are all the matters of importance that will be submitted to you, and I will not trouble you longer, except to call your attention to your general duties as to the organization of your body and the principles that should govern your proceedings.

The Judge then proceeded to instruct them that they must have sixteen present for a quorum; that twelve must join to find a bill; that they must receive only legal evidence, and that the evidence before them must be such that, if uncontradicted, they would feel themselves authorized to convict the accused of the offence.

The Grand Jury then retired.

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Historical Journal *Answers Puzzler*

Solution to a question that has long puzzled Civil War historians is offered in the current issue of the "Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society," edited by State Historian Clyde C. Walton.

The question is "Why did Lincoln let Confederate agents escape to Europe when he could easily have had them arrested?"

The answer is given by Dr. J. Preston Moore, professor of history at Louisiana State University, in his article, "Lincoln and the Escape of the Confederate Commissioner." The Confederate Commissioner was Ambrose Dudley Mann, who told his story to a reporter for a New Orleans newspaper about 20 years after the war was over.

In 1851 Mann had been appointed the first Assistant Secretary of State so he was well-known in Washington. When he went to the capital in March, 1861, on his way to Europe, he was recognized by Sen. Hal S. Lane of Indiana, who warned him that he was in danger

of being arrested. Mann's version of what he told Lane was, "I have committed no crime, and it would be the greatest mistake that the administration could commit to arrest me under the circumstances. Granting that I hold a commission from the Confederate government to go abroad; until I do something under that commission, I have done nothing that can be construed into treason. The mere intent to do a certain act cannot be punished. If it arrested me, the administration would be forced to release me, and it would be damaged even in the North by its having committed so arbitrary an act. To prevent my going abroad would do them no good, as my colleagues are already safe out of the country and someone else would at once go out in my place."

When Lane reported this conversation to Lincoln, the President finally agreed, "I guess the traitor is right," and cancelled the order for Mann's arrest.

